PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE

PL

Vol. 12 No 2
Spring 79
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—In this issue:—

Racism, Revisionism and Capitalism:

A DYING SYSTEM

The Albania/China Split

The Race to the Right

Part One:

The Racist History of the Ku Klux Klan

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Soldiers, Turn the Guns Around!

(SEE EDITORIAL)

CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY | February 21, 1979—Volume15, Number 39 | 10 CENTS

Fight for Socialism in Iran

CONTINUE THE INSURRECTION

"Iran's elite Imperial Guard suffered a stunning defeat at the hands of a mob of poorly-armed civilians during 48 hours of savage fighting . . ." said the New York Times (Feb. 13) about the armed insurrection of workers and students that put an end to the Shah's puppet government of S. Bakhtiar. It was an impressive military victory for the workers of Iran, totally crushing one of the most modern military machines in the world. It again shows that the might of the working class cannot be stopped by any capitalist army (the Iranian army was armed and trained by the U.S., which maintained thousands of military advisors in Iran). Many soldiers joined the workers, and gave them weapons, showing the importance of winning soldiers to turn the guns around (see editorial). Many workers also learned how to shoot when they were drafted.

BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THIS MAGNIFICENT struggle of the Iranian workers is not a revolution to overthrow capitalism. The government of Ayatollah Khomeini and his Prime Minister Bararan is still a capitalist government; its combination of religious, fascist and nationalist rhetoric won't end the capitalist exploitation of the Iranian working class. Its "Islamic Republic" is not a solution at all! A religious-fascist government makes it more imperative to go all the way before the offensive taken by the Iranian masses ends or is crushed by Khomeini.

Thousands of workers and students have not and apparently will not turn over the weapons they seized from the Shah's army during the insurrection. "Once small and tightly knit, both main Iranian guerilla groups (a Moslem one and the leftist's Feyadin group) have expanded into the thousands" (**Washington Post**, Feb. 13). The same article interviewed a member of the Feyadin group (one of the biggest leftwing groups in Iran) who said that he won't give up the five rifles and several grenades he acquired when masses of workers and students attacked and overran a Teheran arms factory and all the military bases of that city. Revolutionary leftwing workers also control the strike committees in the oil fields (the oil workers' strike was crucial in this anti-Shah struggle and among other workers. If these revolutionary workers and students continue organizing, they will certainly be attacked by the new rulers. One of the main tasks for Iranian workers now is to organize a revolutionary communist party to lead the fight for workers' power, socialism; otherwise, all this struggle will be lost, and capitalist exploitation will continue.

For U.S. bosses, the new situation in Iran is a great blow. Iran was once their main military ally in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Khomeini has said that he will end that alliance. The bosses will try to force U.S. workers to cover their losses by increasing the price of oil (already Carter has called upon the U.S. workers to cut back the use of oil; it is said that the price of gasoline will go up to $1 a gallon). This defeat puts U.S. capitalism even more on a downward path as an imperialist power, creating an even bigger danger of war with their Soviet competitors (the Soviets rushed to give diplomatic recognition to Khomeini). Eventually, Khomeini must choose one or another imperialist side.

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PL

Spring 1979 *Vol. 12, No. 2*

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE
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THE RACE TO THE RIGHT

Nationalism has destroyed the old communist movement and revisionist vultures are fighting over the remains. Here we analyze both the Albanian Party of Labor's attack on the revisionism of the Communist Party of China, and the revisionism of the Albanian Party of Labor.

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What It Means To Be № 2 20

Reprinted from FORTUNE. The declining US ruling class plan to lash out at the Soviets, and use fascism against US workers.

Leninism and Liberalism 28

Phony "socialist" allies of the ruling class hate PLP, and they are right to do so. A reader's polemic exposes them.

History of the Ku Klux Klan 38

From its beginnings, the KKK has been built up by the US bosses to divide black and white workers with racism and screw them both. This first installment covers the period from 1865 to 1930.

The Dialectics of Disease 62

Natural science is crippled by the idealist and metaphysical outlook of the bourgeoisie. Our author shows how only dialectical materialism is compatible with scientific—and social—progress.

The articles appearing in **PL Magazine** are published because the Editorial Board believes they are generally useful in the political ideological development of the international revolutionary communist movement. However, only the editorial and documents of the National Committee of Progressive Labor Party represent the official policies of the Party.

notes and comment

We welcome letters from readers about articles in PL Magazine and related topics, as well as on the magazine itself. Please send letters to:

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On Struggle

To the Editors:

I found two problems in the article "Cointelpro: Cop Plot Flops" in the Winter, 1979 issue. I had some familiarity with the letters which were reproduced, but without proper captions I had a lot of trouble figuring out what they were about. I'm sure others, completely unfamiliar with the letters, were probably very confused.

The second problem is more serious to me. The article accompanying the documents explains how the cops exploit differences within the party. The main point of the article is that we can always overcome the attempts on the part of the ruling class to split the party and stop us from organizing the working class for revolution. However, another, to me very disturbing, point is made. The article reads "Within the party difference of opinion on this or that matter should be kept within bounds, or it will be, inevitably, exploited by the police."

I think this statement is contrary to everything the Progressive Labor Party stands for, namely struggle, democratic centralism, resolution of contradictions in the carrying out of the line, etc. Of course the ruling class will exploit any and all differences in the party, however, those differences must exist. The only bound on differences should be that there is comradely struggle, that there is no factionalization. I don't believe the intent of the statement is to curtail discussion and struggle within the party. (If so, that statement is in direct contradiction to the points made in the first article in the same issue. "Put the Line on the Line.")

The idea of keeping differences in the party "within bounds," other than those of democratic centralism, smacks of the revisionist attitudes and paranoia of the "Communist" Party. We will always, if we correctly carry out the line of building an anti-racist and a communist movement, have provocation, harassment, and infiltration by the police. However, we cannot silence the healthy struggle within the party for fear of the police. **If we do, then the ruling class has won already.**

Several years ago, one of the struggles in and around the party was in opposition to slavishness; kowtowing to the leadership without criticism or struggle. We correctly realized that we all must struggle, differ, argue, on all levels, to understand and carry out the line. I believe that this attitude of struggle will continue. It must if we are to make a revolution, as I believe we are capable of doing.

Joan Heymont
New York

Death on the Job

To the Editors:

The letter in **PL** Magazine (Vol. 12 No. 1) by R. Cooper is indicative of the right-wing line which has been consistently presented in the Health Column of Challenge-Desafio. The letter criticizes a previous book review for concentrating too strongly on industrial-related deaths. It states "an exaggerated emphasis on occupational disease, as important a health problem as it is, strikes me as an example of 'workerism'." However, the Party can never be too strong in attacking one of the most vicious aspects of capitalist production—the bosses' total disregard for workers' lives in their mad drive for profits.

R. Cooper states that since "only" 100,000 workers are killed per year by industrial accidents and related diseases out of a total of 1,909,440 deaths per year (1976 figures) in the U.S., it is a mistake to concentrate on this issue. He says that diseases of consumption, such as those

caused by tobacco, alcohol and diet are more important to focus on since they affect a greater number of people. This line only obscures the question of who will make socialist revolution.

The Party turns every ounce of energy to winning industrial workers. Not because they are the majority of the population out of 220 million people in the U.S. "only" 35 million are industrial workers, but because industrial workers are the key force for revolution. The killer conditions in capitalism's factories, mines and mills are one of the most ruthless examples of exploitation. Because of racism these conditions double affect black and Latin workers. Just witness the overwhelming percentage of black and Latin workers in the steel mills' dangerous coke plants. Sharp class struggle can be organized and has occurred over the very issues of job related deaths and disease. In fact, job safety and health was one of the key issues of the Party-led Mack Avenue sit-down strike of 1973.

Concentrating on job-related deaths will lead to sharper class-struggle, further exposure of capitalism, putting the line on the line and increased recruitment to the Party of industrial workers. Or perhaps we should turn the Party into a "protest" group a la Ralph Nader that organizes around "consumer" issues. After all bosses and their flunkies also die from tobacco and alcohol but they don't lose their arms and legs in industrial accidents or die from black-lung disease. Yes, tobacco and alcohol are killers. Under socialism, a politically conscious working class will wipe out these capitalist evils. Now our job is to turn all our energy to winning these workers to the Party.

The letter writer criticizes the book review as an example of "workerism." What's wrong with that approach? PL was founded because the old "Communist" Party gave up on winning workers to socialism. If one thing is constant in our short history, it is that we have based our Party on the working class. Because we have consistently exposed and fought around the issues of on-the-job injury and deaths, more industrial workers have joined the Party—and the fight for socialism.

Howard Weiner
Chicago

Note:

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The previously-planned special issue on the Soviet Union will not be printed. Instead, articles on the experience of the Soviet Union under socialism and revisionism will be published in coming issues.

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The Albania-China split has aroused a good deal of interest among revolutionary communists around the world. With China's headlong rush toward capitalist development and military alliance with the United States, highlighted by Deng Xiaoping's visit to the U.S., the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) appears to a number of revolutionaries to have emerged as a new international communist vanguard. PLP disagrees with this.

The Progressive Labor Party had received numbers of inquiries concerning our views on the Albania-China split. Many months ago, the National Committee of PLP discussed this question. Included in the documents and articles presented here is a report that was presented to the NC. Also included is one of several comments written to us by members and friends. For those who have not yet read the PLA document on why Albania split with the Chinese Communist Party, we reprint a summary from Albania Report.

Albania's Leaders Rewrite History

Revolutionary workers and students, members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party, should study and evaluate the split between the Albanian Party of Labor (PLA) and the Communist Party of China (CPC). Some of the reasons why this study should be undertaken are: (a) Albanian and Chinese communists played a vanguard role in the late 50's and early 60's in the struggle against modern revisionism, and influenced the ideological development of many revolutionary communists around the world, including the Progressive Labor Party. (b) The split between PLA and CPC not only further exposes the depth of the degeneration of the Chinese revisionists, but exposes revisionism and opportunism within the PLA as well. (c) The split raises once again a number of important ideological questions, such as: the national question, what is socialism, what is the role of a vanguard communist party, is there a left, right and center in the international communist movement, how should ideological differences between communist parties be handled, and what is the correct revolutionary strategy to defeat the growing danger of war and fascism. (d) Also, the PLA has attracted a number of formerly disenchanted pro-CPC groups and has been a factor in the split between the Canadian Party of Labor and the Progressive Labor Party. Finally we must arrive at an estimate of the PLA and its supporters.

All these questions require further study and this paper is aimed at opening up discussion on some of the above for comrades and friends to think about and comment on.

Chinese Red Guards and Albanian youths, during the Cultural Revolution, with portraits of Mao Zedong and Enver Hoxha--before Hoxha discovered that he had always known that Mao was all wrong.

The PLA says that its differences with the CPC go back more than 15 years. They reveal that the top CPC leaders, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and by implication Mao, sought a reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists back in 1960. They indicate that they struggled against the vacillations of Mao, Chou and Co. about their efforts to collaborate with the Soviet revisionists. They say they opposed Mao's wrong strategy of introducing the border dispute into the anti-revisionist struggle. They characterize this as a bourgeois nationalist deviation.

The PLA also says that it opposed many unprincipled aspects of the Cultural Revolution and that the only reason why they publicly praised it was as a personal favor to Chairman Mao! They reveal that the current leaders of the CPC asked them to repudiate the Cultural Revolution, which they refuse to do saying that it is up to the CPC leadership itself to evaluate the Cultural Revolution (as if it were only a matter of internal Chinese concern). The PLA has never analyzed the G.P.C.R., its positive or negative features.

The Albanians also reveal that the CPC never informed them in advance about the Kissinger-Nixon negotiations and that they only found out about this international event through the foreign news services; and that when they did, they vigorously opposed it "in private."

Because of their opposition to the reactionary policies of the CPC, the Chinese sent no delegation to the PLA's 6th Congress in 1971. Relations became purely formal and minimal after that. The PLA characterizes Nao's "three world theses" as anti-Marxist-Leninist and states that the CPC leaders' line is to build China into an imperialist super-power. The Albanians say that the CPC's line is thoroughly revisionist and counter-revolutionary.

Despite this assessment, the PLA never made any public attacks on the CPC's counter-revolutionary line until recently. In fact the PLA takes offense at the "charge" that they did make such a public attack. They say:

> The accusation of the Chinese leadership is groundless. For this suffice it to read the documents of the 7th Congress, which are all made public. It is not difficult for anyone to see that it contains no attacks either against China, the Communist Party of China or Mao Tse-tung. (Letter of the Party of Labor of Albania to the CPC.)

After the Chinese rapproachment with Tito, the PLA publicly began to criticize the "three-worlds theory" as a reactionary line. However, it was only after the Chinese had cut off all military and civil aid to Albania that the PLA severed their relations with the revisionists and came out with the history of their secret struggle against Chinese revisionism. Such a position can hardly be defended as one of genuine concern for the revolutionary socialist consciousness of the international working class and as a defense of Marxist-Leninist principles. Rather it is a clear example of national self-interest taking priority over the revolutionary interests of the international working class.

When should ideological struggles against revisionist policies be made public?

Genuine communist parties must never keep their struggles against counter-revolutionary theories and policies secret from the masses. Nor should they play the hypocrite and publicly endorse reactionary policies while secretly opposing them. Such views and practices show complete contempt for the masses. Marxism-Leninism is not the private property of a few so-called knowledgeable leaders. M-L belongs to the masses. ideological questions on matters of fundamental principles and the struggle against revisionist deviations must be made a public matter of mass concern, not of private and secret concern for a handful of top leaders. This is not at all in contradiction with democratic centralism and the need for disciplined unity in struggle against the class enemy.

Of course not every particular difference of estimate, or tactical difference should be made into a matter of public debate between parties or within parties. Not every criticism or self-criticism of individual leaders need be made into a public issue. But this certainly has not been a particular danger in the history of the communist movement; the errors have been in the other direction.

It is our view that the international communist movement has never satisfactorily solved the problem of the correct handling of contradictions between comrades and friends and that public ideological struggles have almost always been directed against enemies. In the particular case of the PLA's secret polemics, however, they themselves indicate that this was a struggle against revisionist, counter-revolutionary policies. This indicates that it was an antagonistic contradiction on matters of fundamental principles, hence there was not any valid reason to keep this an internal matter!

In the history of the Bolshevik Party ideological questions between comrades and friends were often debated publicly. Although polemics were often sharp, they were conducted within the frame of a dispute between comrades who were on the same side of the revolutionary class struggle. We must study this history more thoroughly and review the question of how to handle contradictions between comrades and friends, particularly under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The practice of the PLA of maintaining a close alliance with forces they themselves characterized as revisionist, counter-revolutionary, and aspiring super-imperialists is clearly wrong. To "justify" this practice with a "theory" that says that "relations" between fraternal parties in state power should never be severed or disputes on matters of principle never publicly aired until aid is cut off is a "theory" deserving of contempt by serious communists. Those who collaborate with revisionists and renegades suddenly launch a public attack, without a single word of **self-criticism** for their past practice of publicly defending renegades for years **after** they had been exposed as renegades! There is nothing honest, much less communist, about such behavior.

Incidentally, the Canadian Party of Labor (CPL) now hails the PLA as a new vanguard in the fight against revisionism and Enver Hoxha, the PLA leader, as a new Lenin-Stalin. This is absurd, and further exposes the CPL leaders' own anti-Marxist-Leninist, opportunist turnabout from the Party's former position. Like the PLA leaders whom the CPL admire so much, they too have not uttered one word of self-criticism about their own past history of differences with the PLA as an ally of the CPC revisionists. Birds of a feather!

If the PLA had accompanied its attack on the CPC revisionists with a self-critical evaluation of its own past practices in defense of renegades, then revolutionary communists around the world

could take their public polemics in defense of M-L principles more seriously.

What are the ideological differences between PLP and the PLA?

Many of the PLA's criticisms of the CPC's obviously revisionist line, theories, and practices are correct. However, the PLA's attacks are shallow, and not simply because they kept their "principled struggles" a secret from the masses, but primarily because the PLA's own line is incorrect on a number of vital questions. These include: the national question; the growing danger of war and fascism; the historical significance of the Cultural Revolution and ideological struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Loyalty to 'nation' has destroyed the old communist movement as a powerful force for revolution.

The National Question

Like the CPC revisionists, the PLA still advocates the two-stage theory of revolution for the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They still cling to the strategy of bourgeois national liberation and bourgeois self-determination, or "the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution," as the first stage, to be followed by the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the second stage. This wrong two-stage strategy hangs like an albatross around the necks of revolutionary communists throughout the world. From Iran to Nicaragua, from India and Southeast Asia, to Africa and Latin America, revolutionary communists are setting aside the struggle for socialist revolution in order to build a "broad anti-imperialist bourgeois democratic and anti-fascist front" with so-called petty bourgeois or "national bourgeois democratic" forces. Instead of winning the masses to proletarian revolution, which is the only kind of revolution capable of smashing imperialism and fascism—instead of building the socialist class consciousness of the workers, peasants and students—bourgeois democratic ideas prevail. Above all, nationalism is developed and defended as some form of proletarian patriotism. Loyalty to one's own "nation," instead of loyalty to the international working class has been the poison that has destroyed the old communist movement as a once powerful force for revolution.

There is no such thing as "proletarian nationalism." Nationalism in any and all its forms is a product of capitalism and is the ideology of the capitalist class. The working class can never strategically defeat the class enemy with the ideas of the class enemy. As Lenin pointed out long ago, "Either bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology"—there is no in between!

While advocating the two-stage theory of revolution, the PLA tries to modify the former classical position on working with so-called anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie. They say:

> Therefore it is absurd to pretend that one must fight only against the external imperialist enemies without, at the same time, fighting and attacking the internal enemies, the allies and collaborators of imperialism . . . All strata of the bourgeoisie without exception including the compradore bourgeoisie, cannot be identified as anti-imperialist forces, as a basis and factors which carry forward the struggle against imperialism, as the socalled theory of "three worlds" does. (Theory and Practice of the Revolution, p. 11)

They also point out:

> Thus, in connection with the first tendency (the internationalization of economic and political life by the capitalist monopolies), in many countries liberated from colonialism, the ties of the local bourgeoisie with foreign imperialist capital have not only been preserved, but are being strengthened and extended in many

> neo-colonial forms, such as the multinational companies, various economic and financial mergers, etc. This bourgeoisie which occupies key positions in the economic and political life of these countries, and which is growing, is a pro-imperialist force and enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement. (Theory and Practice of the Revolution, p. 14)

While correctly indicating that the so-called national bourgeoisie is a class enemy who "is linked by a thousand and one threads with foreign imperialists" the PLA urges the proletariat in Asia, Africa and Latin Smerica to first lead a bourgeois democratic revolution as a transition to a higher stage, the struggle for socialism.

The Progressive Labor Party has written extensively opposing the two-stage strategy (see **Road to Revolution III; Revolution and Reform**). Much more work is required. We must recognize that the strategy of the old communist movement, including the Bolshevik, Chinese and Albanian revolutions, was guided by the two-stage theory. Because this strategy in fact did bring communist parties into power, the influence of the past blinds many to the realities of current world capitalist system and the rise of modern revisionism. These realities are: a. the mode of production in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (as well as Europe and North America) is capitalist and is not feudal or "semi-feudal" b. The world peasantry is being proletarianized (as Marx and Engles predicted) and must be viewed as an integral part of the international working class. c. The so-called national liberation anti-imperialist revolution is in essence a **class** question, a form of the global class struggle to liberate the working class from the domination of capital, foreign and domestic. This can only be done by proletarian revolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely because both foreign and domestic capital is "linked by a thousand and one threads" and "the internationalization of political and economic life by capitalist monopolies" that the proletariat which is developing rapidly everywhere must not be tied to backward capitalist banners of nationalism, but to communist proletarian banners of internationalism—the global struggle for a socialist world.

The two-stage theory says to the working class masses: "**First** free the nation from foreign capital, **then** free the nation from domestic capital." This denies the reality of the interconnection between foreign and domestic capital, and the global nature of the world capitalist system. Certainly there are contradictions between various sectors of capital, nationally and internationally, which must not be ignored.

However, the strategy of the communist movement must be linked to the contradiction between labor and capital and not the contradiction between various sectors of the capitalist class. It is precisely because the CPC revisionists link their strategy to the contradiction between the imperialists and not to the contradiction between labor and capital that they have dreamed up their counter-revolutionary "three-worlds theory." While opposing this "theory" the PLA is tied to the same incorrect analysis of the national question as the Chinese, the Russians and the Eurocommunist revisionists.

The CPL admirers of Hoxha have now adopted the same wrong line on the national question and two-stage outlook in Quebec as the PLA. And like the PLA, they do so without any self-criticism of their previous position.

On the Danger of War and Fascism

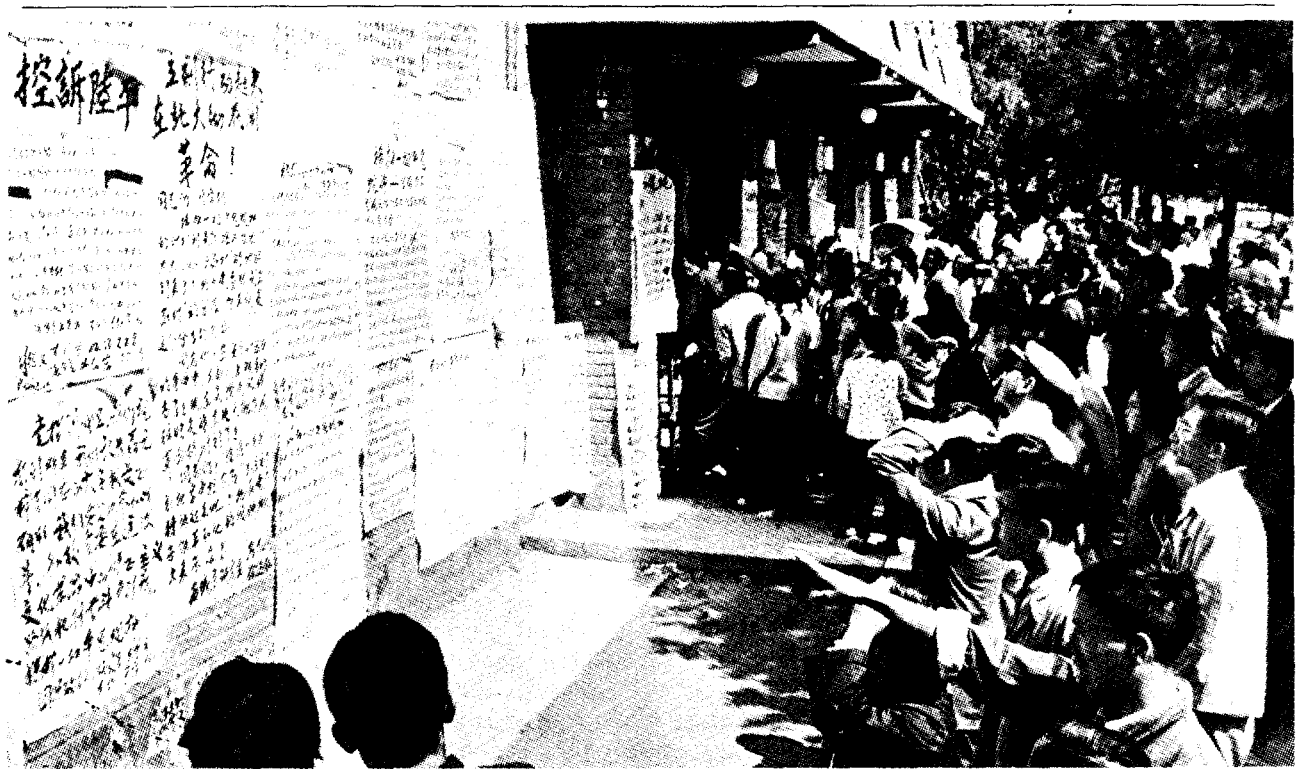
The PLA generally defends Lenin's correct theses on the inevitability of war under imperialism. We agree with PLA that the CPC's line—that Soviet imperialists are the sole main enemy of the international working class is a counter-revolutionary line. In fact PLP (formerly together with CPL) stood virtually alone in the world in exposing and opposing the Chinese revisionists while the PLA was in alliance with them and publicly hailing them as genuine Marxist-Leninists.

However, while affirming that both the Soviet and U.S. imperialists are equally dangerous class enemies, the PLA foolishly denies the fact that U.S. imperialism is in serious decline and has been weakened as a result of the growth of Soviet imperialism as well as the growth of other imperialist powers, Germany and Japan. To deny this reality is to play into the hands of the Chinese revisionists and actually give some credence to their wrong "main enemy" line.

Is PLP has pointed out many times over the years, U.S. imperialism is indeed in steep decline (see **Fortune** article "What it means to be number two"). Inter-imperialist rivalry between Soviet and U.S. imperialists is sharpening everywhere. The U.S. is striving to maintain what it can and to recoup its losses wherever it can, while Soviet imperialists are impinging on U.S. hegemony all over the globe. It is because of this changing relationship of forces (a manifestation of the law of uneven development) that the danger of world war is growing more intense. In this regard the CPC's analysis of the changing relationship of inter-imperialist forces and their estimate that war is likely by 1985 and a virtual certainty by 1990 is more accurate than the PLA's, which in practice downgrades the danger of world war and fascism. PLP puts no dates on the inevitable conflict, but warns the working class to be prepared for this eventuality sooner rather than later! Indeed we stress that it could happen much, much sooner. Therefore it is all the more urgent that communists prepare the masses for revolution **now**!

Again the PLA's critique of the counter-revolutionary "three-world's line" with regards to the danger of a new war is weakened by several other mistaken views. The PLA says that the Chinese want to instigate war between the Soviets and the U.S. to begin in Europe. But they warn that the U.S. wants the Soviets to begin war with an attack on the Chinese. Then they say that while the Soviets are aggressive everywhere, the Chinese are miscalculating because the Soviets will probably attack China first before they attack Europe. Frankly we don't know where the initial conflict will begin. Whether it starts in the Mid-east, South Africa, Iran or wherever, to put much emphasis on this secondary point is misleading to the international working class. **Wherever the conflict starts it is a threat to the entire international working class, which must react with active revolutionary struggle to turn the imperialist war into a class war for socialism!**

Why does the PLA play this speculative "where will the war begin" game? Because they view the international class struggle in nationalist terms. They try to appeal to Chinese nationalism by saying: "you are miscalculating, China will suffer the first blows." But does the Chinese alliance with U.S. imperialism become less counter-revolutionary if China were not to suffer the first blows? Of course not!



Chinese workers and Red Guards reading wall posters at Beijing University during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the 1960's. Hoxha says Albania supported this mass struggle only as a personal favor to Mao Zedong.

Because of these same nationalist blinders, the PLA also does not repudiate the "theory" of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." They write:

> Of course, it happens and may happen, that this or that country is oppressed or directly threatened by one of the superpowers, but this in no case means that the other superpower does not constitute a danger to that same country, and even less that the other superpower has become a friend of that country. The principle, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" cannot be applied when it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S. (Theory and Practice, p. 29.)

Rather than repudiating this anti-M-L principle, the PLA merely says that the CPC is misapplying it. Throughout their critique of the "three-worlds theory" the PLA correctly points out that "it is anti-Marxist to identify the contradictions between various imperialist powers (Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Canada, etc.) and the two superpowers with the struggles of the working masses and peoples against imperialism, for its destruction." (p. 20).

If this is true—and it is—how is it possible for any imperialist power to become a friend of the international proletariat? Why doesn't the PLA repudiate all alliances with the class enemy? Because they do not want to criticize the Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism during World War II. In fact the PLA has never criticized any policy of Stalin's. Thus, the PLA's attack on the CPC revisionist line is full of serious weaknesses. CPC apologists respond to the PLA's attacks by simply indicating that if it was OK for Stalin to make such an alliance in World War II against the fascists, why can't the Chinese? The PLA's weak response is to say that "the Soviet imperialists is OUR main enemy —and so it goes.

International revolutionary communists must oppose alliances of any kind with the class enemy, no matter what the pretext. Once revolutionary communists start wheeling and dealing with the class enemy, whether a "main" one or a "lesser" one, they have started down the road to revisionism. Obviously this does not mean that workers must never reach any temporary agreements with the bosses under the gun of ruling class state power. PLP does not oppose trade union contract struggles or other such types of temporary compromises or agreements. However, this has nothing in common with policies of class collaboration!

Finally Nexhmije Hoxha, in her important article on "Some Fundamental Questions" indicates two interrelated points with regards to the question of war. She says:

> Another fact makes the all-round preparation of the proletariat for the revolution even more essential; there is a real danger that another world war **may** break out. It is the duty of the proletariat to struggle against an aggressive war, but when this war becomes inevitable, the proletariat should turn it into a revolution. But this can not be done in one day, nor can it be done without systematic prior preparation, without a high level of revolutionary consciousness, mobilization and organization, without the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. (p. 54; emphasis added)

and later on she points out:

> Of decisive importance for a correct orientation on this problem (the question of alliances) as any other problem or phenomenon, is the establishment of the clear class criterion: **alliances with whom and for what?**— this is how the Marxist-Leninist present the question.

Yes, Nexhmije Hoxha, there must be a high level of socialist class consciousness, mobilization, and organization of the international proletariat under the leadership of genuine M-L parties in order to turn the imperialist war into a class war for socialism. But this urgent need did not begin the day after the CPC ended its program of aid to Albania! Yes. Nexmije Hoxha, "alliances with whom and for what" must be viewed with a clear class criterion, and that is the revolutionary interests of the **international** proletariat. How do you explain

your long alliance with the CPC revisionists, and for what (the civil and military aid that they subsequently cut off)? Can any honest communist say that the PLA is now publicly criticizing the CPC revisionist leaders out of concern for the international proletariat? Rather isn't it clear that Albanian leaders are acting out of what they perceive as the national self-interests of Albania and of the necessity of maintaining their own credibility with Albanian workers?

As previously indicated, at least if the PLA had accompanied its criticism of the CPC with some self-criticism, revolutionary communists would give the PLA more credence.

How should we assess the Albanian Party of Labor?

The PLA played a vanguard role in the struggle against Soviet revisionism.

...to defend Stalin uncritically plays into the hands of the anti-Stalin slanderers.

However, the PLA never analyzed the roots of Soviet revisionism. Instead of an analysis they defend the period under Stalin's leadership uncritically—as if revisionism dropped out of the heavens or arose spontaneously from the depths of hell. They push the theses of a Khrushchev coup, but they never explain the absence of a significant mass revolutionary opposition to the Khrushchevites and their successors. While it is correct to defend Stalin from his revisionist detractors, to do so uncritically is not only unscientific, but plays into the hands of the anti-Stalin slanderers. The main point is that workers and communists learn nothing from such a distorted view of historical development. It dooms the working class to repeat errors that gave rise to the revisionist takeover in the first place.

Again the PLA says that they are not Maoists, they now even criticize Mao Tse-tung Thought as a reactionary anti-Marxist-Leninist view. They say:

> The Chinese version of modern revisionism goes even further in the struggle against Leninism than all the revisionists that preceded it, by opposing to it the so-called "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and its offspring—the theory of "three worlds" which is a complete negation of the revolution. (Report by Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the C.C. of PLA, p. 8)

The PLA says that they are not pro-"gang of four," nor pro-Lin Piao or any faction of the CPC. Their attack on the Cultural Revolution comes from the right. They see nothing positive in it. Yet they hailed it as an historical development as a personal favor to Mao! Is this the principled communist leadership of the Lenin-Stalin type?

The PLA has in fact never even analyzed the Cultural Revolution! PLP, with far less revolutionary experience and with only a few contacts with the CPC during the 1960's, was able to make an essentially correct evaluation of the Cultural Revolution. We hailed the Cultural Revolution (and still do) as an historic development on a plane with the great proletarian revolutions of the past from which the revolutionary communist must study and can learn a lot about class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. (see **Road to Revolution III**). We first made this analysis almost a decade ago. Based on it, we were able to correctly predict the demise of the CPC as a communist vanguard and the capitalist road that China has now obviously taken.

PLP made this correct analysis not because of any special knowledge or great genius but because we utilized our understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles to serve the interests of the international working class. We had analyzed the roots of Soviet revisionism, refusing to take a one-sided view of Stalin or of any great Marxist, such as Lenin, and we recognized that nationalism and narrow self-interests are antagonistic to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The PLA has not made an analysis of either the roots of Soviet revisionism,

nor of Chinese revisionism because of their own narrow nationalist and self-interest outlook.

The PLA opposes U.S. imperialism, opposes Soviet revisionism, opposes Chinese revisionism, opposes the Euro-communist revisionists, proclaims that it is for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the armed struggle of the working class for socialist revolution. Yet PLP continues to criticize the PLA as infected with revisionism and opportunism. Why?

The first requirement of a genuine M-L party is that it pursues a line that is guided by the revolutionary interests of the international proletariat. Secondly, it must draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the modern revisionists who have thoroughly betrayed the working class and have turned millions of former revolutionaries into cynics and defeatists because of revisionist hypocrisies. Thirdly, a genuine communist party must practice sincere self-criticism, so that workers can learn from mistakes in practice and in past policies. The PLA, however, practices no sincere self-criticism and admits to no mistakes at all. The PLA allied itself with the Chinese revisionists and did not break with them until the CPC had become completely and thoroughly discredited. And finally the PLA has been guided by nationalism in its practice as well as defending it in its two-stage theory of revolution.

We cannot regard the PLA as a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party.

Is Albania a Socialist State?

For a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to exist, the state apparatus must be in the hands of the proletariat and led by a genuine M-L party. This doesn't mean that every time a M-L party pursues a wrong line, the socialist nature of the state is immediately destroyed. No communist party has or can function without making mistakes, even serious mistakes. However, the party must have close relations with the working class, openly admit its mistakes, and have an open relationship of mutual struggle to secure the revolution and advance the class struggle. This means that under socialism there must not only be the consistent practice of self-criticism by the leadership, but public criticism of the leadership by the rank and file of the working class. The working class must exercise control over the party and not the party over the working class. This means that leadership of the state must be directly dominated and elected and must be subject to recall by the masses. Leadership should enjoy no special privileges but must live on an equal level with the masses of the working class. Ideological struggles on matters of policy and principle must be debated publicly with the participation of the masses in the process. Marx first enunciated these principles. Analysis of the efforts by the Bolsheviks and the CPC to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat without sticking to these principles shows that they are essential.

To the best of our knowledge the PLA does not function with this kind of revolutionary confidence in the masses. They maintain their positions of power by wiping out internal opposition and by cultivating a personality cult of Enver Hoxha. Surely working class power does not require that the same leader remain as an infallible authority until he is dead! Such practices make a mockery out of the proletarian dictatorship, which in essence is and must be a thousand times more democratic than any bourgeois dictatorship.

As long as the PLA was in a close alliance with the revisionist CPC it was relatively easy to consider them in the same garbage bag as their ally. Now however, many revolutionaries around the world are taking a new look at the PLA. We must not ignore their interest in this development. We must study the internal class struggle in Albania in much greater depth.

Is there a right, left and center in the international communist movement?

At the International Workshop of the Fourth Convention of PLP we discussed this question and adopted the following resolution:

In effect the old international communist movement is dead as a force for revolution. It has become a force for counter-revolution. The failure of revolutionary workers to recognize this reality prevents them from objectively analyzing the positive and negative features of the old communist movement, drawing correct lessons and laying the foundations for a NEW international communist movement. When we speak of the international communist movement we

must define which movement we are referring to. The Convention resolution refers to the **old** communist movement out of which the Progressive Labor Party was born. PLP represents the seeds of the future **NEW** international communist movement.

Those revolutionaries who look to the PLA, the "Gang of Four" and other so-called "left opposition" forces to modern revisionism are in effect looking to revive the corpse of the old international communist movement. We must break the umbilical cord once and for all. The Albanian Party of Labor belongs to the past. We should not link the future of PLP with it.

When PLP first emerged out of the old communist party of the U.S., there was a small faction that refused to conduct struggle against the old CP revisionists because their ties to old friends and old ideas ran too deep. "Well-meaning" but essentially revisionist "old-timers" had to be swept aside so that new communist forces for revolutionary change would emerge in the leadership of PLP. It was only those cadres who linked the future of PLP with new developing revolutionary workers and students that prevented PLP from degenerating into another revisionist group. It was those cadres who broke with their revisionist heritage, and learned from the historical experiences of the old communist movement, that helped develop PLP as a new revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Center forces are those numerous small groups of rank-and-file revolutionary workers and students around the world who genuinely are struggling for revolutionary change, but are still greatly influenced by old "communist" (really revisionist) ideas and practices. They oppose modern revisionists, trotskyites, Soviet and Chinese renegades, but they have not yet been won to the line of PLP on a number of vital questions.

We must not adopt a narrow sectarian position that the only genuine forces for revolution are in PLP. Such a position is not only sectarian, but absurd. There are millions of honest revolutionary workers and students around the world. In the absence of a strong authoritative center of communist leadership, as the convention resolution indicates, deviations from a correct M-L line (which always occur from time to time) are even now more likely to flourish. We must not ignore the contradiction between the revolutionary aspirations of millions of rank-and-file communist workers and students with counter-revolutionary revisionist leaders.

The task of the left is to strengthen its revolutionary mass base in the working class, armed forces, and students. Without the left having a strong independent mass base, honest center forces who vacillate between left and right will tend to generally veer to the right. The left does not refuse the support of center forces. We struggle to win such support. However, we must never surrender our struggle for leadership in the mass movement for the sake of unity with center forces against the right. Such "united fronts" have meant that the left has surrendered its political line and program, set aside the struggle for socialist revolution for the sake of some immediate issue. This has become a touchstone of revisionism, in theory and in practice. As PLP has pointed out in the past, the left must lead the U.F. and this must be a united front from below! This lesson cannot be repeated too often for all of us.

Millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, and students throughout the world hate the capitalist system. This is also true in the U.S., particularly in the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class. As U.S. imperialism declines and economic crisis develops, as inter-imperialist rivalries sharpen, as the danger of war and fascism becomes more imminent, bourgeois democratic trappings will evaporate, war on U.S. soil will become a reality and an inevitable revolutionary crisis will arise. The next quarter century will be unlike any other since the rise of world capitalism. Disciplined revolutionary communist parties around the world with a correct communist strategy for the dictatorship of the proletariat and a mass revolutionary base in the working class can lead the working class to a global communist victory. The key to this victory is the development of revolutionary communist cadres who place the interests of the international working class as the primary aspect of their lives. Only those who dare to bring communist ideas to the masses, dare to lead the masses in protracted class battles and educate and organize them for revolution, not reform, can win.

By W. W.

Keeping It Under His Hat:

Enver Hoxha's Secret Letters

The Albanian Party of Labor has discovered a new "Leninist" principle: differences of principle between various parties should be handled by secret negotiations between the leaderships, with neither the existence of the differences nor the fact of the negotiations becoming public knowledge.

Search through the more than 12,000 pages of Lenin's collected works. Most of it is spirited public attack against any and all who disagreed with him. The whole intellectual history of the revolutionary socialist movement and early communist movement is found here. But one thing that you **won't** find is even a hint that secret negotiations over revolutionary principles can help advance the revolutionary movement.

The Albanian leaders had a historic chance in the 1960s. They might have rallied the world's revolutionaries and assured the primacy of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary camp. They blew it.

How badly they blew it they revealed several months ago, during a bitter attack against the Chinese Communist Party. (Letter of July 29, 1978.)

Here is the record of the bath we all took:

- We find out now that 18 years ago, in 1960, the Chinese—Communist Party leadership—in particular, Chou En-lai—sought a reconciliation with Soviet revisionism rather than a break with it.

Wouldn't it have been useful to know the real attitudes of the "defenders" of Marxism before years of half-truths gave them such an awesome reputation as consistent revolutionaries?

• Now we learn that 16 years ago, in 1962, the Chinese leaders—particularly Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping—insisted the Soviet Union could never turn capitalist, and Khrushchev could never become as bad as Tito, so China should remain united with the USSR.

Wouldn't it have been useful to the world's revolutionaries—including the Albanian people—to have known about this trend in Chinese thinking, so they would not have been disoriented when, 15 years later, China united with—Tito!?

• Now we learn that it was only in 1963, and only under the impact of the Soviet rapprochement with the U.S. in the framework of the Test Ban Treaty, that the Chinese leaders finally abandoned their efforts to unite with the USSR. But even then, say the Albanians now, the Chinese "did not prove to be consistent and principled in the struggle."

PLP knew of the attempted reconciliation with the Soviets. Unlike the Albanians, PLP attacked the policy.

Would it not have helped the revolutionary movement to know that the Chinese **always** regarded alliances between governments as more important than the development of a strong international communist movement?

• We now learn that 14 years ago, in 1964, Mao Tse-tung came up with the strategy of objecting to the existing Sino-Soviet border as an important element in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Since the Albanians thought the dispute was over ideology they disagreed with Mao's policy, arguing that it diverted attention from the ideological struggle, confused and alienated potential allies within the Soviet Union, and tended to strengthen reactionary moods in the Balkans.

Now we learn that the Albanians told Mao his policy "expressed the chauvinistic spirit of a great state and of bourgeois nationalism."

The Chinese never bothered to answer the Albanian criticism, not wanting "to stir up polemics." And of course neither did the Albanians want to stir up polemics. So mum was the word, and goodbye to the chance of winning allies within the Soviet Union (or anywhere else).

What an astounding episode. The history of the world might have been vastly different had leftists throughout the world known what the Albanians could have told them.

• We now learn of an episode later in 1964, when Khrushchev was deposed, and the Chinese leaders immediately called a halt to the anti-revisionist polemics. Again they were trying for a reconciliation with the Soviets. They tried to get the Vietnamese, North Koreans, Rumanians, Cubans, and Albanians to go along with them. All but the Albanians did.

The Albanians now say they rejected the Chinese policy because "if this line of reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists were accepted it would spell disaster to the Marxist-Leninist movement." But of course they spelled all this out only in a secret note.

The Chinese never replied to the secret note, pursued their reconciliation and failed. The Albanians, watching a policy unfold they now say they considered a disaster, raised not one cry of alarm to warn a Marxist-Leninist movement they themselves had helped disarm.

The Progressive Labor Party, like the rest of the world, knew of the attempted Chinese reconciliation with the Soviets. Unlike the Albanians, PLP attacked the policy in an article in **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO** (Dec. 1965) as well as in meetings with the Chinese. Other leftists were horrified by our insolence. Wouldn't Albania putting its money where it now says its mouth was, have helped?

The Albanians now say they considered the Chinese to be "conciliatory, opportunist and utterly wrong." "Ideological differences (between the Albanians and Chinese) deepened further," but the Albanians tried to "strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party, hoping this would help the Chinese leadership to sound positions."

How did that "help" the world's Marxist-Leninists to "sound positions"?

• We are now told that in 1966 the Albanians supported the Chinese Cultural Revolution because of Mao's personal request, and despite the fact that they "did not agree with many questions of principle and methods which guided this revolution and were used in it."

Incredible as it may seem, even today the Albanians refuse to publically analyze the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which is, after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the Chinese Liberation of 1949, the most important revolutionary event of the century, even though it went down to defeat.

• In 1968, we now learn, the Chinese adopted an "anti-Albanian and counter-revolutionary" policy by refusing Albania heavy weapons. Instead, Chou En-lai advised the Albanians to defend themselves by relying on partisan warfare, and by forming a mutual defense pact with Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The Chinese were being completely consistent with policies they had been following since 1960. The Albanians could have been surprised only if they had failed to read their own secret notes objecting to those policies.

• We learn now that China failed to inform its closest ally when in 1971 it invited Nixon to Peking. Tit for tat. Nixon didn't bother to tell the Japanese. They both read about it in the Associated Press.

Albania's leaders now say they regarded the new alliance as "monstrous," and as proof that Chinese anti-revisionism was not motivated by concern for Marxism-Leninism, but rather by "pragmatic ends and selfish interests."

But they neglected to draw anyone's attention to this interesting conclusion. Except, of course, the Chinese leaders to whom they sent yet another secret note. The Chinese leaders ignored the Albanians.

Not only did they ignore them, but from that time on the Chinese "reduced contacts with our party, turning relations between the two parties into a purely formal relationship." Still the Albanians kept quiet.

• In 1974 the Albanians proposed high level talks in Peking to discuss the "differences." The Chinese refused.

• In 1975 the Chinese again tried to promote the Albanian-Yugoslav-Rumanian alliance during talks which the Albanian defense minister had with Chou En-lai. The Albanians again rejected the idea and ended up arresting their own defense minister (he agreed with Chou), but never breathed a word to the world about this "reactionary" plot to "drive socialist Albania into the trap of war-mongering plots through military alliances..."

What they **did** tell the world was that the defense minister was plotting (the implication was that he was plotting with Yugoslavia) to undermine Albanian independence.

• Finally in 1976, after stoically and silently enduring 16 years of Chinese "inconsistency," "unprincipledness," "bourgeois nationalism," "opportunism," "conciliationism," "counter-revolutionary policy," and "war-mongering," Albanian patience finally wore thin.

At their 7th Party Congress in 1976 the Albanians mildly criticized the theoretical basis of Chinese foreign policy, the concept of "three worlds."

Never bashful, the Chinese responded immediately, publically attacking the Albanians for being anti-Mao and anti-China. At the same time they cut off all their economic and military aid, cut off trade, pulled out all their technicians, destroyed all their blueprints and sent the Albanian students in China home. They knew how to do it—the Russians had done the same to them in 1960.

• Now the Albanians explain that the problem in China is that "the great ideas of the (Russian) revolution and of Marxist-Leninist ideology were not properly made the example for, the pillar and the compass of, the Communist Party of China in the concrete conditions of its country." This was true "during the time of the struggle for the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and after 1949..."

How come it took the Albanians so long to notice this? In any case it is untrue and irrelevant. In politics, timing counts, and the Albanians are 18 years late.

The politically important question the Albanians pose has nothing to do with China. **Why did the Albanians keep quiet so long about so many things?**

Perhaps they feel they were wrong... that they should have spoken out sooner? **No!** Nowhere in their entire 46-page letter of July 29, 1978 do they utter even a hint of self-criticism, or indicate that they were wrong to keep this deadly

secret to themselves all these years.

In fact, the Albanians kept quiet because it was in their national (nationalist) interest to do so. They were getting big bucks from the Chinese. Only when that **national** interest was threatened—when the Chinese phony revolutionaries made their alliance with the Yugoslav phony revolutionaries (Yugoslavia being a long-time enemy of Albania)—**only then** did the Albanian phony revolutionaries decide to squeak out.

The Albanians are a fossil party, the last crawling example of victorious "progressive nationalism" parading as "socialism."

In the last 18 years history was served and Marxism-Leninism developed **only** along the opposite road, the road of open political struggle and of open ideological controversy. First, open struggle for Marxism-Leninism and against Castro's brand of bourgeois nationalism. Then, open struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist-inspired student movement in the West in the teeth of anarchist trends. Then, open struggle in defense of peoples war and socialism in Vietnam as the true path to Vietnamese independence, and against the North Vietnamese rapproachment with the Soviets and Americans as a strategy for independence. Then, open struggle in support of the Left in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the Right led by Liu and Teng, and the Center led by Mao and Chou.

Finally it has meant open struggle to rebuild the communist movement at home and abroad based on the lessons learned from the old movement, which choked to death on its own silent opportunism.

HOXHA: Was China Ever Socialist?

In a 180-degree turn from their long-time uncritical support of the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labor recently announced, "The Chinese Revolution did not develop in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism; it remained a bourgeois democratic revolution It did not lead to the establishment of a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat; therefore it widely opened the doors to the free development of capitalism in China." (from the 1/6/79 Albanian Telegraphic Agency report of Enver Hoxha's work Imperialism and Revolution.)

The Albanian attack on the Chinese Revolution is undialectical, since it totally negates the achievement of socialism in China before it was set back. The Albanian Party of Labor claims to be communist; why then did it issue statements over many years glorifying the Chinese Communist Party if it thought that Party had "opened the door to the free development of capitalism in China? " The Albanian Party has not issued one word of self-criticism. A true communist party, such as the Progressive Labor Party, carefully explains why it changes its positions: either circumstances have changed or how the Party realizes that it was mistaken in the past. the past.

The claim that the Chinese Revolution "remained a bourgeois democratic revolution" is absurd. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China during the mid-1960's was a powerful example of the struggle to advance socialism in China. To be sure, there were many mistakes made during the Chinese Revolution-mistakes which ultimately allowed the new capitalist elements (bureaucrats and managers, such as Deng Xiaoping) to take power away from the working class and put China back on the road to capitalism. But there were also many great contributions made by the Chinese Revolution—especially the clear demonstration that class struggle continues under socialism, a fact that the Albanian Party of Labor eveidently now denies. Many of the international followers of the Albanians, like West Germany's KPD (M-L), says that they reason they did not criticize China or Mao Zedong in the past was because they did not want to break the unity of the anti-revisionist movement. But if China and Mao were never considered communists (Hoxha now says that Mao never was) then this argument shows only the opportunism of this position.

ENVER HOXHA
The past has changed.

We must learn from the experiences of the old international communist movement. It is all wrong to either uncritically praise all that happened in China or the USSR before the reversal of socialism (which the Albanians used to do), or to pretend that there never was a socialist revolution in those countries, which is the new Albanian attitude toward China. Unless we can correctly evaluate why the revolution was reversed in China and the USSR, then we will find it hard to avoid repeating their errors. The Albanian attitude—praise to heaven or damn to hell— rejects the Marxist-Leninist practice of serious investigation, of self-criticism, and of careful explanations to the workers.

—reprinted from Challenge, 2/7/79

There has been a debate within the ruling class over the relative military strength of the US and USSR. As this article, reprinted from the ruling-class organ FORTUNE indicates, this debate has now been decided.

The article reflects the ruling-class push for war and fascism. They know that if US workers won't fight a world war against the Soviet imperialists, then anti-communism, racism and nationalism must be used to win them to it. This open admission of strategic weakness by the ruling class should lead us to take the offensive in fighting for revolution.

What It Means To Be №2

(reprinted from **Fortune**, Nov. 20, 1978)

For more than thirty years, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have remained each other's principal adversary, superior to all other nations in military might. During all these years, their armed forces have never met in battle and their nuclear arsenals have remained locked in a standoff.

These impressive continuities have encouraged ways of thinking about military power that are now firmly entrenched in the West—habits of mind resistant to changing facts and contrary evidence. The military relationship between the two superpowers is seen as essentially symmetrical and stable. Each side must simply preserve the capability to "retaliate" with a devastating nuclear strike should the other launch a nuclear attack. Provided this requirement is met, not only will the nuclear confrontation remain deadlocked, but—so it is thought—the superpowers will be unable to use their conventional military forces against each other.

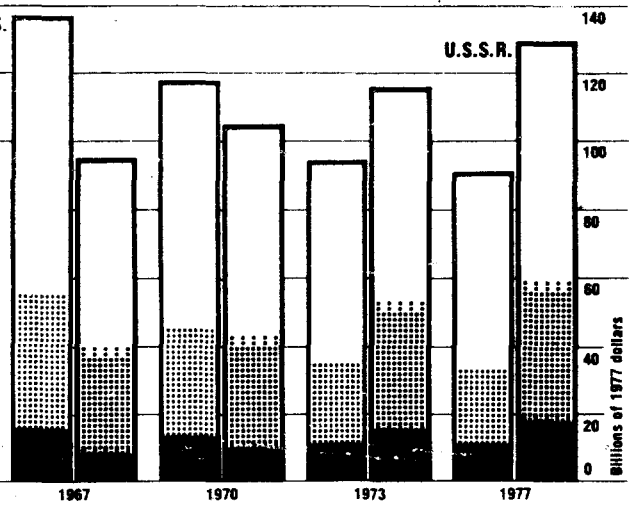
This comforting military faith holds that a global military stalemate has been preserved and will be preserved, as if through a law of nature, establishing a tense but essentially stable situation in the world. According to this widespread view, changes in the two sides' forces will cancel out or be of no decisive consequence. If the Russians have developed bigger missiles, we have added far more nuclear warheads; if the Russians build more tanks, we benefit from the Chinese divisions that tie down Soviet forces; if Soviet military spending is consistently higher than ours, we maintain a lead in technology.

THE ROAD TO INFERIORITY

U.S. AND SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING

Research and development | Procurement and construction | Personnel and operations

As recently as 1967, the U.S. was heavily outspending the Soviet Union on defense. But since the late 1960's, our spending has declined in real terms while the Soviet totals have risen steadily, leaving us far behind. To make the spending totals comparable, both sides' figures are expressed here in 1977 dollars. The Soviet dollar figures reflect, not an exchange-rate conversion, but an estimate (prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency) of what it would have taken to buy the Soviet capabilities if the purchases had been made in the U.S. The concept obviously results in an overstatement of Soviet personnel costs but is useful in gauging the relative spending of the two sides for R. and D. and hard goods. Our notions about the Soviet totals in those categories are based on intelligence estimates and should not be viewed as precise. However, there is no doubt about the trends depicted—or doubt that the trends are bad for U.S. security.



FORTUNE'S STATISTICS: *The bosses are worried.*

Unfortunately, changes in the military balance are not controlled by some mysterious gyroscope. Neither history nor present trends support the notion that only harmless fluctuations occur in the U.S.-Soviet power relationship. The reality is that the military balance since the end of World War II has shifted dramatically in different periods. There have been three distinct phases.

First, from 1945 until 1951, we were substantially weaker than the Russians in terms of ready land-based power because of our hasty unilateral disarmament after the war and our low defense budgets throughout the late 1940's. In the first few years of our "nuclear monopoly," we had scarcely any ready nuclear weapons. Despite our vast undamaged industrial potential (which at that time was still invulnerable), our land forces in being were weak—as evidenced by the fact that we almost failed to prevent the conquest of South Korea in 1950.

In the second phase, which began as a result of the North Korean attack, our relative position was much improved. Overnight, we tripled our defense budget and embarked on a military buildup, exploiting our technical advantage to the hilt, particularly in air power and nuclear weaponry. While the Russians continued to maintain far larger land armies, our strengthened air and naval capabilities enabled us to project our power virtually everywhere outside the Soviet empire.

The third phase began in the mid-1960's, as the war in Vietnam became a debilitating drain on our economic and moral energies. Our budgets for strategic forces declined year after year, as did those for conventional land forces and the Navy, except for the bulging effort required for the war in Indochina. This decline has finally leveled off in recent years. But even today, our defense budget in constant dollars is less than it was in 1961. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has been increasing the resources devoted to its military establishment by 4 to 5 percent every year, thus about doubling its military budget, in real terms, during the last fifteen years.

The reality, in short, is that the two superpowers have not been fixed in an equilibrium during the postwar years. And the third-phase shift in the Soviet Union's favor is still under way, with no limits visible for its reach and consequences. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks cannot by themselves alter the basic situation. If the U.S. is not already militarily inferior, it soon will be.

The upward trend in Soviet military might can be seen in a concrete way by looking at changes in strategic forces—the area in which our superiority was once so overwhelming. Best known, perhaps, is the steady growth in the Soviet intercontinental-missile force. That force outstripped ours in deliverable destructive weight by 1967, in numbers of launchers by 1971, and in numbers of land-based missile warheads by 1976. It might well surpass ours in numbers of all missile warheads by the early 1980's.

While the U.S. has canceled its only new bomber, the B-1, the Soviet Union

FORTUNE

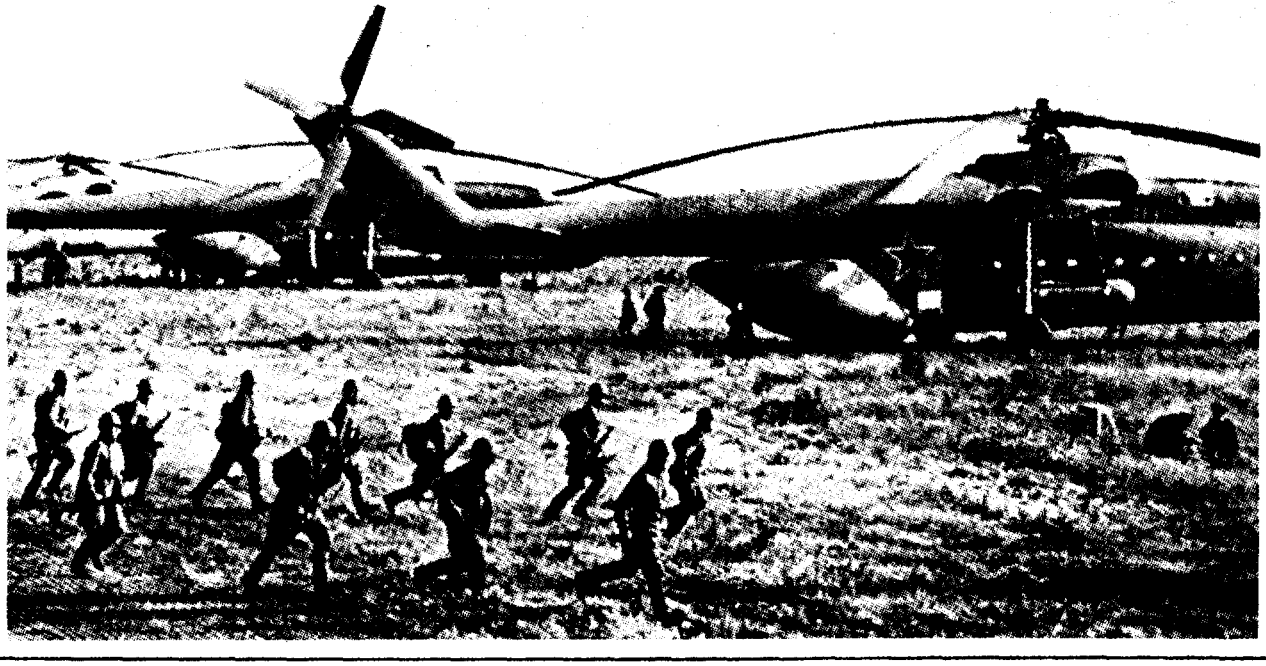
is deploying the new Backfire bomber, which can reach all of Western Europe, our sea-lanes, and even the continental U.S. While the U.S. has dismantled all its ballistic missiles of intermediate range, the Soviet Union has kept 600 of these missiles and is now adding a new model, the SS-20, which can reach all of Eurasia with more accurate and multiple warheads. Although the U.S. has an advantage in cruise-missile technology, it has not yet deployed any of the new cruise missiles and seems prepared to accept severe restrictions on them as part of the new SALT agreement.

During the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations, our Presidents, Secretaries of Defense, and congressional leaders all kept asserting that the U.S. must maintain strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. As late as 1968, Defense Secretary Clark Clifford said: "I shall certainly do all in my power to continue to maintain superiority . . ." (although the trends in strategic forces at that time made this a rather hollow promise). Rhetorically, we did not abandon strategic "superiority" until President Nixon, in his first press conference, in January, 1969, substituted the word "sufficiency." Since then, our description of the desired relationship has been further revised, with a preference in recent years for "essential equivalence" (a phrase whose nuances seem to allow our forces to be somewhat smaller).

Previously, we could comfort ourselves with the thought that our nuclear superiority would deter the Russians from using their superior land forces against the West. But in recent years, the Soviet superiority on land has become even greater—at the very time when our nuclear lead has been disappearing. The Soviet Union has augmented its forces in Central Europe during the past ten years by about a third. Moreover, its military buildup is not confined to land armies or the Central European front. The Soviet Union has modernized its navy far more rapidly than the U.S. has. It has acquired a significant airlift capability, which it is still expanding; only fifteen years ago the U.S. had a virtual monopoly in airlift. With these new capabilities to project power over a distance, the Soviet Union has managed to extend the geographic reach of its superior conventional strength.

The most disturbing picture emerges when we look, not at the detailed comparisons of weapon categories, but at the total magnitudes. As Secretary of Defense Harold Brown told Congress, Soviet military spending now exceeds ours by 20 to 40 percent in real terms. But the news is even worse than those figures indicate, since over half of our military budget is absorbed by our expensive manpower. In military procurement and in research and development, the Russians outspend us by about 75 percent.

Soviet military flexibility increases, while the US loses many bases around the world.



In the judgment of the Central Intelligence Agency, the overall rate of growth in Soviet military spending over the next five years or so will probably continue, or slow only marginally.

This widening gap between Soviet military expenditures and ours is bound to have cumulative effects. The Soviet advantage in weaponry will grow, Soviet industrial capacity for military production will expand, and Soviet assets in military research and development will increasingly exceed ours. As the Soviet Union draws further ahead, its superiority will acquire a more formidable and broader foundation. This momentum has long passed the point where it could be justified as a reaction to some previous American buildup or to an emerging threat from China. It is transforming the military structure of the world.

What is the intent behind the Soviet arms program? It is draining the best of Russia's scientific and industrial resources, condemning the civilian economy to painful backwardness vis-á-vis the West. An effort so costly for the Soviet economy and so hard on the Russian consumer could not be the result of bureaucratic inertia—only half-intended by the leadership. To say this is not to assert that the Kremlin has mapped out a grand design for world conquest, with each step and each battle plotted well in advance. Yet the Soviet leaders seem to be pursuing the goal of military superiority deliberately and doggedly. Surely they must have in mind some purposes that this determined exertion can serve. Surely, they know that superior force casts a long shadow over the international political scene.

The "shadow" can intimidate weak neighbors, causing them to be more pliant in any contest of political will. It shapes expectations of political leaders throughout the world on crucial questions: how much pressure might the Soviet leaders be prepared to exert if their wishes were not met; how might other countries and public opinion at home react if armed conflict seemed imminent; how much support would the U.S. be willing and able to offer?

The shadow of superior Soviet force also enlarges opportunities for subversion. For it can be used to encourage and assist pro-Soviet factions to seize power and to cow their opponents. The 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia is the classic example from the period of the Soviet Union's local military superiority after World War II (the first phase in the superpower relationship). At that time, a Communist minority exploited the threat of Soviet military intervention to intimidate the democratic, pro-Western majority and impose a Stalinist dictatorship in Prague.

Now that we are in the third phase of the superpower relationship (the period when the Soviet Union is acquiring global military capabilities), we face an anxious question: will the Soviet leaders again exploit the shadow of superior power—and will the shadow be cast much farther than in the late 1940's? The recent coup in Afghanistan by pro-Soviet Communists may indicate that the answer is yes. What tilted the scales in Kabut, it appears, were the Soviet military preponderance and our comparative weakness.

The expanded shadow of superior Soviet force can have other effects as well. Several nations in the Middle East have recently conceded to the Soviet Union privileges that they had previously refused. For instance, countries that in past decades have not allowed Soviet military aircraft to overfly, now tactily or even explicitly permit this. (During the 1973 Mideast crisis, Turkey did not protest when the Russians airlifted supplies over its territory.)

These changes are cumulative and mutually reinforcing. When Soviet military power grows faster than American power, the continuing shift in the military balance produces further political accommodations and emboldens pro-Soviet factions in countries where political turbulence is readily fomented. Some such process is now discernible in the region surrounding Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf as well as in southern Africa. Today, the Soviet Union can exert pressure in the area of the Persian Gulf because of its increased military role in Afghanistan, its strong position in Aden (formerly a British base), its military presence in Ethiopia, and the new possibilities for overflight that bring the area within easy reach of Soviet airfields.

In putting its superior military power to use, the Soviet Union is, of course, not limited to nonviolent coercion. It can go further.

There are those who believe it will not do so. As has been observed many times, the Soviet leadership—in contrast, say,

to Hitler and Napoleon—tends to be cautious, avoiding high risks. But this tradition of caution has not inhibited the Russians from moving aggressively in the past, especially in areas where their force was preeminent. The Soviet Army has intervened three times in Eastern Europe in the postwar years, in situations whose outcome was not entirely foreseeable. The Russians prepared for an airlift and sent threatening messages during the October War in 1973. And once, at least—in Cuba—they took aggressive initiatives outside the area where their force was preeminent. If the Soviet leaders were willing to take such initiatives in the past, when the military balance was far less favorable to them, it is reasonable to anticipate interventions much farther afield in the future.

Many Americans have taken comfort in the proposition that the Russians (or, say, their Cuban surrogates) would soon meet "their Vietnam" should they send military forces into distant countries. But if one wants to lean on an analogy with the American experience in Indochina, one should recall the massive Soviet and Chinese assistance to North Vietnam. Without that assistance, the lesson of Vietnam would have been quite different. For the Russians to meet "their Vietnam" would require American military assistance to counter interventions of Soviet (or Soviet-supported) forces in different parts of the world. In the case of Angola, Congress decided to deny military assistance to those who were resisting Soviet arms and Castro's troops. And there is certainly no indication that the Russians are badly bogged down in South Yemen or in Afghanistan.

Would the U.S. be able and willing to provide sustained military assistance to, say, Pakistan, in the event of Soviet-backed aggression by Afghanistan aimed at securing access to the Indian Ocean? In the event of a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia after Tito's death, would the U.S. be prepared to airlift and sealift military assistance to the forces fighting for Yugoslavia's independence, and would our NATO allies lend the necessary support? Decisions in such contingencies would, of course, be influenced by many factors that are not now discernible, but the case for intervention has clearly been made more difficult by the vast expansion of Soviet military power.

The Middle East is a region in which the Soviet Union's exploitation of its new position can have particularly frightening consequences. Our stake in that region is enormous, our forces thin and hard to reinforce. The Soviet Union, with its new bases on the Arabian peninsula and the Horn of Africa, could bring in reinforcements quickly and back them up with its new airlift and naval capabilities.

There is no way to predict how and where superior Russian Military strength will be exploited. But let us examine a troublesome hypothetical case: a pro-Soviet coup or uprising in Saudi Arabia, covertly instigated by the Soviet Union and, let us suppose, overtly supported by Soviet equipment, Cuban mercenaries, and East German technicians—the familiar advance guard of the Soviet empire.

If the U.S. took no effective action while the Russians and their helpers installed a pro-Soviet regime in Saudi Arabia, Moscow would have gained control over a large part of the West's oil supplies. Russians could then turn off the flow of oil to gain leverage in any future crisis. The oil price and revenue could be manipulated to create havoc in Western economies and to subvert Mideastern nations that were still friendly to the U.S. If, on the other hand, the U.S. did intervene with its own conventional forces to thwart this Soviet initiative, what might be the outcome? We could not count on a meek withdrawal by the pro-Soviet forces. The stakes would be very high and the "new correlation of forces" (the Soviet term for the altered global military balance) would be strong encouragement for the Russians to oppose our forces by sending in their own.

With the conventional battle thus joined, broad Soviet military superiority

"There is no way to predict how and where superior Russian military strength will be exploited."

"Political reliability" of armed forces, highlighted by G.I. rebellions and mass support for them at home, limit US rulers' military options.

would have its full, cruel impact. The side with the larger supply of tanks, artillery, antiaircraft guns, and deployable soldiers; the side with the military reserves to exert massive pressure in other parts of the world; the side that can better sustain losses in men and equipment—that would almost certainly be the side to prevail in any such "limited" war.

But what of the nuclear arsenals? Would not such adventures be deterred by the threat of a nuclear response? Would not the fear of nuclear escalation —or its threat—serve to inhibit any Soviet moves that harmed vital American interests? Certainly, the dread prospect of nuclear war would have moved to the forefront as soon as American and Russian soldiers approached direct combat. Although Americans and Russians have never fired at each other in the nuclear era, U.S. nuclear forces have been alerted during at least three confrontations with the Soviet Union—the Berlin blockade of 1948 (when our bombers were moved to England), the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and the October War in 1973. These nuclear alerts were our moves to counter aggressive Soviet behavior; in the Cuban missile crisis, indeed, they were our principal countermoves.

In the past, an American nuclear alert delivered an awe-inspiring message. The threat inherent in our greater nuclear might almost surely helped to dissuade Moscow from taking full advantage of its superior conventional forces. And aside from its effect on the Russians, our nuclear advantage encouraged us to feel that in the moment of trial we could use the nuclear threat convincingly.

Perhaps, as many argue, our nuclear threat is still effective for these purposes. But in the future, even if we continue to maintain retaliatory forces sufficient to deter any attack on our homeland, our nuclear forces will no longer pose a more formidable threat than the

'Back off . . .
or I'll start thowing my weight around'

Even bourgeois editorial cartoonists have lost respect for U.S. military power in world crises.

Soviet forces. Indeed, any advantage in a nuclear confrontation will have passed to the Russians. It would be reckless to assume that the threat of nuclear war would somehow rescue us from any local defeat by superior Soviet conventional forces.

Here we enter a realm of ghastly speculation. It may well be that the anticipation of nuclear war, when it turns into an immediate possibility, is so horrendous, so unfathomable in all its implications, that no responsible leader—not even the future masters of the Kremlin—would ever want to cross the last threshold. But if this is the case, then conventional arms would presumably carry the day, and we would presumably lose

Alternatively, it might turn out that nuclear weapons are usable—in which case we could be even worse off. For in this case the nuclear threat could be turned against us, more convincingly and brutally than we ever wielded it against Stalin or Khrushchev. Even as recently as 1973, during the Mideast War, it was still the United States that reminded the Soviet Union of the nuclear threat. By alerting our nuclear forces, President Nixon meant to send Brezhnev a message of our determination. In another U.S.-Soviet crisis it could well be the other way around. The President might receive the chilling news that the Russians had alerted their nuclear forces first. At that point, the long-suppressed fear of nuclear war would suddenly dominate our thinking. We could no longer ignore the fact that the changed nuclear balance had shortened the reach of our deterrent. In a distant but vital area—such as the Persian Gulf region—how could we rescue American conventional forces from defeat?

There is no cheap and easy way to counter the dangerous trends in the global military balance. No single remedy will be sufficient.

One remedy that will not transform the present adverse trends—at least not by itself—is arms control. In the past, we hoped that our military rivalry with the Soviet Union could be halted by the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. But the path of negotiations has been strewn with many rocks and few accomplishments. Soviet arms programs proved so difficult to pin down in agreements that we became tempted, some fifteen years ago, to make our own programs the effective target of arms-control policy. Arms control, we reasoned, like charity, should begin at home.

In support of this policy, the theory was propounded that the Soviet arms programs were merely a reaction to ours and that if we practiced restraint, the Russians would follow suit. But while we curbed and canceled some armaments, the Russian buildup continued unabated. Our experiment in unilateral restraint ended in sad failure. The tragedy is that the pursuit of arms control has now become more difficult and more dangerous precisely because we have frittered away our margin of safety.

As President Carter discovered in the spring of 1977, Moscow will flatly reject proposals to cut back Soviet and Amer-

ican missile forces to the same level. Having reduced our strategic budget year after year since the early 1960's, we are now told by the Russians that it is unfair to ask them to give up some of the advantage that our self-restraint let them acquire. Given this attitude, the kind of agreements that seem within reach today cannot halt the present adverse trends. The CIA believes that the continuing increase it projects for Soviet military spending would not be significantly altered by the new SALT agreement.

Certain kinds of arms-control agreements might still be useful. Carefully designed, verifiable agreements might help to delineate the limits of Soviet military growth; they might even produce reductions in the Soviet arsenal. But unless the Russians change course, arms control can make only a limited contribution to the solution of our problem.

"...the American people are in for some shocks ...as the new reality about our military weakness sinks in."

Other steps will be more important for the near term. A key requirement, clearly, is good intelligence about Soviet military programs. It was a massive intelligence failure in the 1960's that brought about our harmful persistence in unilateral restraint as a policy for inducing Soviet restraint. For eleven years in a row, the annual U.S. intelligence forecasts underestimated the number of missiles Russia would deploy. Whatever else this strange episode tells us, it reflects an almost perverse inability to learn from past mistakes. It is to be hoped that our intelligence organizations have since taken steps to be more receptive to new information, even when it contradicts accepted views.

Furthermore, the U.S. government must construct—or reconstruct—a wider range of instruments to exert influence abroad. With the military balance moving against us, we will have to compete more effectively, for example, in the information and propaganda battle, with more sophisticated communication throughout the world. We will have to compete vigorously in providing financial and organizational assistance to our friends and in defending our interests through other overt and covert actions abroad. In its zeal to stamp out the kind of mischief perpetrated, on occasion, by the CIA fraternity, Congress has plainly gone too far and has severely hobbled a wide range of useful activities.

Needless to say, we need a substantial increase, in real-dollar terms, in our defense budget—an increase that is sustainable over a long period and judiciously allocated. To strengthen our technological base for what might be a prolonged arms competition, we must invest less sparingly in military research and development. And certain weapons programs that would take a long time to complete should be initiated promptly, so as to broaden our options in the 1980's. Further, we need to improve the capacity of American industry to mobilize rapidly for a major expansion in defense production. That in itself might act as a potent deterrent to major aggression; if it does not, we would at least have the means to respond.

We cannot shoulder alone the burden of restoring the global military balance, and we need not. Our present efforts to improve NATO's defenses will be carried forward, and we are likely to expand our cooperation with China. In addition, we should consult with Japan to explore ways in which our principal ally in the Far East might make a contribution to the common defense more commensurate with its industrial might.

All the needed steps will falter unless the American people share a sense of purpose sufficient to sustain a burdensome effort for many years. Such dedication requires a durable consensus, free of comforting illusions. It would be forcing the facts to assert that there is any such consensus today. But there is every reason to believe that the American people are in for some shocks in the years ahead, as the new reality about our military weakness sinks in—and every reason to believe that when it does sink in the people will demand some rapid changes.

This polemic replies to an attack on PLP in RADICAL AMERICA, a pro-ruling class phony-socialist journal. This reply, submitted by a comrade in Madison, Wisconsin, sharply outlines the differences between the revolutionary PLP and its "liberal" and "radical" attackers, and shows the need for the Party and revolution.

By A WISCONSIN COMRADE

A Reply to RADICAL AMERICA:

Leninism and Liberalism

Despite the efforts of bourgeois political science, "leftist" journalists, and other commentators to proclaim its futility, Marxism-Leninism is a vital force today in the United States. Since the late sixties there has been a resurgence of Leninism across the country, growing partly out of the student anti-war movement, and partly of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), the largest and most influential student organization in American history. In the period since the end of SDS, there have been many efforts to organize Leninist local collectives and study groups. Thousands of activists, many of them workers, have become familiar with Leninist ideas and practice as a result. It is accurate to speak of a Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States today, made up of center forces moving towards revolutionary communism. This movement has unfortunately been strongly influenced by various phony "communist" Maoist parties which have been organized in recent years. Many leaders of these Maoist groups are old-time anti-communists who got their start in SDS opposing PLP for putting forward a working-class orientation, the need for democratic centralism, the need for a violent revolution, and other Leninist theories. Now these creeps are trying to attract honest people interested in Leninism, especially intellectuals who are attracted by armchair (or rather, wheelchair) Maoism. The Marxist-Leninist movement will never become a revolutionary force—it will never link up with the revolutionary party in the U.S., the PLP—unless it overcomes some serious political weaknesses.

One of the most serious of these weaknesses is liberalism, which reproduces bourgeois ideas and sodal relations within the workers' movement and undermines its ability to **scientifically** build a revolution. It is liberalism and the dialectical science of Marxism-Leninism that are the topics of this article. There are other problems facing the communist movement, of course, such as revisionism (pure distortion of Marxism-Leninism in the name of "working class hegemony," "Detente," or "New Democracy,") but these too can be discussed in the context of liberal tendencies on the "left." In the final instance, our ability to combat liberalism, and to win workers and students to the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism will determine our ability to strengthen the Progressive Labor Party, the Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S., and to lead the working class to state power. Liberal ideology is thus an important structural component of the bosses' power, and must be considered seriously.

Many of the most serious liberal weaknesses on the "left" today were recently displayed in an article that appeared in **Radical America,** an "alternative" journal dealing with history and politics that is read generally by "left-sympathetic" intellectuals.

The editors of **Radical America** are dedicated anti-communists—social democrats and anarchists basically. They are opposed to revolutionary **organization,** to a working class orientation, to the need for ideological struggle among the workers. They see Leninism as **the** enemy, and they put more energy into the fight against Leninism than into fighting the capitalists. The **Radical America** is entitled "American Leninism in the Seventies," and it purports to offer an "objective" picture of the Leninist movement today and the work of various self-styled Leninist parties and other formations. On the other hand, however, the article also admits at the outset that its point of view is decidedly non-Leninist (actually, it is **anti-** communist). Thus the article does not evaluate various groups or lines of development in the general Marxist (Leninist (M-L) movement by distinguishing among the political lines. Neither is there any effort to evaluate the practice of different groups by some set of scientific revolutionary principles.

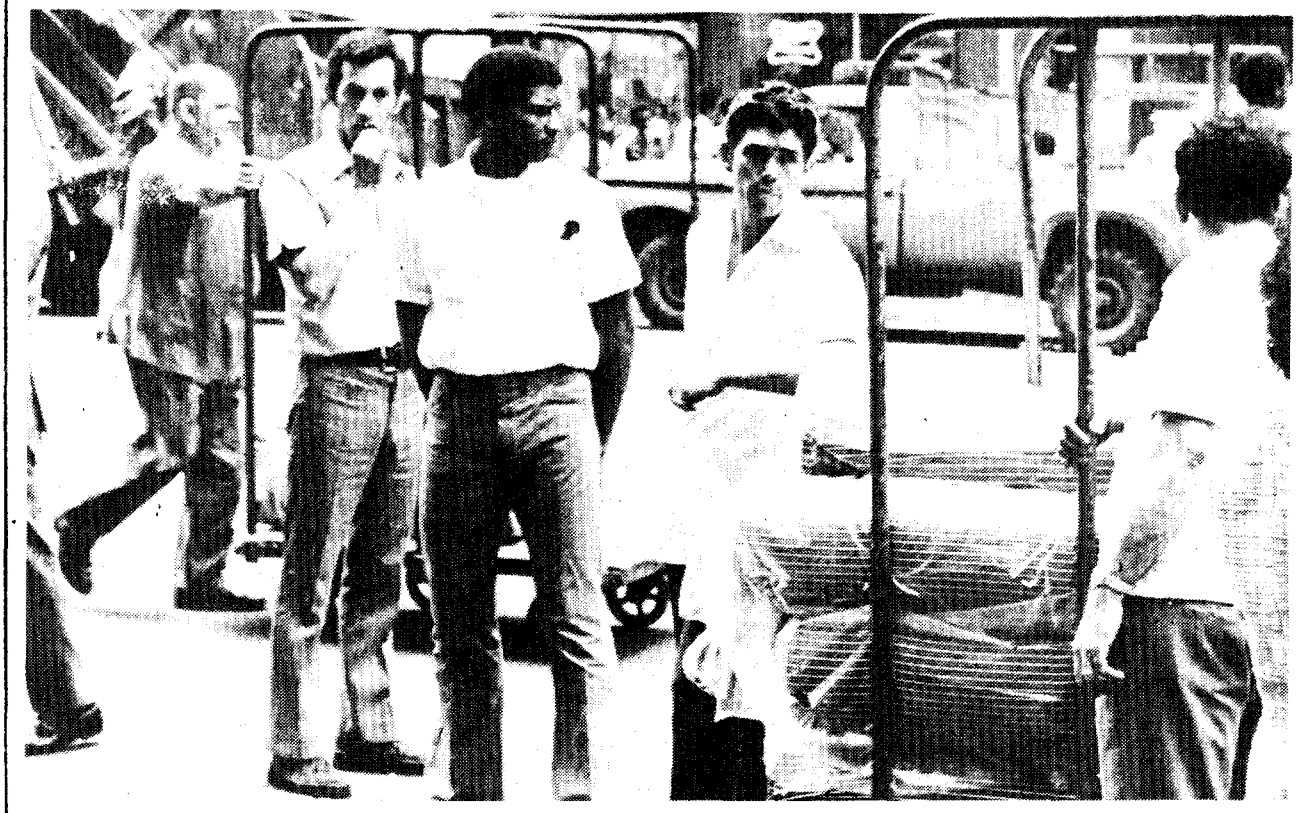
Radical America begins from the premise that Leninism is not now, nor will be in the future, an important force for change in U.S. history. The editors of **Radical America** laud spontaneous, "people's" movements like the Clamshell Alliance in New England. These groups limit themselves to the most immediate reform demands; they reject the ruling class. Not surprisingly, these groups—like the editors of **Radical America**—end up being co-opted by the ruling class.

This sort of evaluation of Leninism from outside a Leninist frame of analysis is a standard bourgeois manner of asserting that revolutionary change is not possible. It is quite typical of liberals who, for whatever reasons, are comfortable enough with their own "left" activities to fail to see what revolution **must** entail. As Marx himself noted, the petty bourgeoisie (and latter-day utopian socialists, syndicalists, vulgar materialists and anarchists) cannot see beyond their own material existence, and thus cannot recognize the true dynamics of class struggle and historical change.

...they put more energy into the fight against Leninism than into fighting the capitalists.

"THINGS NEVER CHANGE" THE MYTH OF THE BOURGEOISIE

In developing his dialectical method Marx always distinguished between the **apparent** and the **essential** aspects of a particular problem. Although both appearance and essence are aspects of reality, appearance only reflects the outward form of events and forces, while essence is the expression of fundamental relationships—contradictions—that determine change. Bourgeois economists and other social scientists, for example, examine class struggle at the level of appearances. Workers fight the bosses for more money, better working condi-



Radical America's phony-socialist editors have no solutions for the oppression of workers. Progressive Labor Party fights for socialism—the only solution.

tions and vacations with pay, and the bosses, they say, are often forced to meet workers' demands. Thus bourgeois social scientists talk about a social "equilibrium" or balance that is achieved and which generally constitutes social harmony between workers and bosses. Because of this they see society as basically unchanging, static and quite permanent as it now exists.

Marxism-Leninism, however requires us to go beyond the level of appearances to examine the dynamics of capitalist development in the context of class struggle. While the primary contradiction within the capitalist mode of production is between workers and bosses, this primary contradiction is always influenced by a number of secondary contradictions, such as the competitive nature of capitalism and its need for continual expansion. These secondary contradictions lead to conflicts between capitalists, which inevitably lead ultimately to war. All of these secondary contradictions, which are built into the capitalist mode of production, bear upon and change the character of the primary contradiction, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Class struggle does not remain the same over time. There cannot be any permanent equilibrium of forces in society because the productive forces and social relations that underly bourgeois society are constantly changing. This is the **essential** characteristic of capitalist society: the intensification of class struggle and the material development of the basis for a new mode of social organization, Socialism. Like the "vulgar economists" that Marx criticized in the nineteenth century, modern bourgeois thinkers cannot see beyond the apparent aspects of their own social reality. The same is true of the so-called "left" liberals, like **RA**.

Throughout its "assessment" of Leninism in the U.S. today, **Radical America** never penetrates beyond the level of appearances. The discussion revolves around issues such as the size of various political formations and the type of trade-union struggles they have been involved in since the start of the decade. **RA** never addresses the issue of **how** workers are being organized; whether they are being won to **revolution** or some liberal set of reforms; or what **kind** of movements each of these different groups is trying to build. The article has no analysis of what **RA** thinks is necessary in this historical period, and even lacks

a general forecast of how workers' struggles will change in the period ahead. It just says that "Leninists" have had "mixed success" in work-place organizing and have witnessed moderate growth over the past five or six years. Yet on this basis the article concludes that there is no science of Marxism-Leninism, that on-the-job successes were generally unrelated to Leninism political formations, and that Leninism probably has very little possibility of growth for the future.

> What is in question is not the continued survival of most of the left-Leninist organizations in the U.S., nor their ability to make contributions to a working class resistance to capitalism. But when it comes to the specific organizational goals of these groups, the building of a large party that will . . . become a revolutionary vanguard for the entire American working class, it is a different story. The experience of recent years suggests that the goal is a will-of-the wisp.

Like the "analyses" of bourgeois social scientists, this assessment reflects the bourgeoisie's wishful thinking that there is a fundamental stability in American life, that rapid, even violent social change can never happen here. Because of this, it assumes that workers will never be open to communist ideas, or at least not when they are expressed as communist ideas. Of course the bourgeoisie itself doesn't believe this pop for a minute. They spend millions every year to fire communists, break up PLP demonstrations, "investigate" us, etc. True to form **RA** swallows this bourgeois line all the way. This outlook contradicts a dialectical analysis of the forces that constitute and determine change. History teaches us that changes do occur rapidly **and** violently, and that these sorts of changes have "even" occurred here in the U.S. (in the industrial revolution, for instance, when class struggle reached revolutionary heights at times, and during the depression when over 100,000 people were members of the then revolutionary Communist Party). History also teaches us that relatively small and well organized groups can play a decisive role in revolutionary situations, as did the Bolsheviks in 1917. There is no reason why a Leninist party—namely, the Progressive Labor Party—could not lead a workers' insurrection in this country as well, given the correct material set of conditions and a general workers' movement to consolidate a revolution.

In the current historical period, the primary contradiction facing the world capitalist system is the growth of an inter-imperialist rivalry between the most powerful capitalist countries for markets and resources necessary for their continued stability and expansion. For workers in the United States the most important feature of this rivalry is the decline of American imperialism relative to the growing power of the Soviet Union and its Eastern block allies. Domestically these developments are reflected in mounting unemployment, and the growth of a visible right-wing movement with the explicit purpose of restoring American strength, whipping workers back into patriotic (and racist) fervor, and smashing any sort of workers' movement that might develop in response to unemployment and attacks on wages and work safety provisions. This right wing movement is the undercurrent of American fascism, which will grow as the American ruling class is required to organize its own political movement against workers and their allies. Eventually the growing rivalty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union will lead to war, as one power grows increasingly desperate and the other increasingly confident of its strength.

This possibility of war (as well as war itself), along with the continuing decline of American imperialism, a deepening social and economic crisis of capital accumulation, and the development of fascism, all dictate a certain set of strategies and tactics for communists for a Marxist Leninist Party like PLP—concerned with organizing a proletarian revolution. It determines what forces and individuals are political allies of the working class, it determines which issues and organizing strategies are appropriate, and it determines the type of political analysis the Party presents in its day to day activities, forums, and demonstrations. Ultimately, it determines the ability of the Party to anticipate and prepare for crisis situations which open the possibility for revolutionary movements, led by communists. The success of the working class rests on the ability of the Party to properly assess when such moments are

likely, **and** the Party's ability to move thousands of workers at such decisive junctures. There is no room for Liberalism in the determination of an appropriate strategy for revolution. Everything must flow from a principled and scientific analysis of the system—the enemy—to be destroyed.

Unable to see beyond their own fashionably radical situation, however, "left" liberals rarely explore the dynamics and possibilities of social change in a dialectical manner. Their inability to even **understand** history leaves them in very poor shape to prescribe measures to change it (and they usually don't). But this same failure to comprehend historical change **will not** prevent them from attacking those who **do** understand general historical trends, and who **are** struggling to change them. When the going gets rough, "left" liberals remain fervent allies of the bourgeoisie.

So it is not surprising that **Radical America** is very critical of PLP. Like many liberal "left" analyses, the **RA** article has difficulty comprehending the Party's militant or "sharp" practice in the context of a general analysis of historical change. Hence there is little comprehension of the **Reform and Revolution** line of the Party, because in the eyes of liberal "lefties" PLP has **always** been militant and sharp (and therefore "revolutionary"). The point of **Reform and Revolution** was to turn the Party's efforts toward building the kind of **revolutionary** workers' movement that could launch and lead an armed socialist revolution in this country. Even the most militant reform struggles are incapable —by their very nature—of accomplishing this. **Reform and Revolution** (see PL, Vol. 11, No. 3) was a self-criticism by the Party for not building **revolution** as its primary goal. Unable to see beyond the appearance of militancy, however, this point is lost on "left" liberals, who judge reform struggles as all somehow **inherently** revolutionary.

This grows out of a failure to comprehend the ability of capitalism to absorb and co-opt social movements representing workers and other oppressed groups. It also reflects a general inability to fathom revolution as anything different from what liberals experience directly on a day-to-day basis. Progressive Labor Party is "extreme" simply because it calls for a dictatorship of the proletariat, a society run by and for **workers**, where social relations will be built on cooperation and not on petty bourgeois individualism and careerism. The Party is "extreme" because socialism has no place for "independent socialist" newspapers and magazines. It is "extreme" because it represents the working class as a material and dialectical force in history, and thus stands to change the exploitative and oppressive society that "left" liberals have become so accustomed to. PLP is "extreme" because its practice is guided by a dialectical—a Leninist—analysis of historical change.

CHALLENGE AND DESAFIO: THE NEWSPAPER OF REVOLUTION

Another example of the "left" liberals' inability to comprehend revolution is their criticism of **Challenge-Desafio**. The **Radical America** article described **Challenge** as "graphically and stylistically unappealing," without considering the fact that **Challenge** is probably the only newspaper today that brings workers' struggles, written by workers, for workers, together under a single masthead in the name of socialist revolution. **Challenge** does not have a large, well paid staff or the best equipment to put out a weekly newspaper. Because of this, the paper probably **is** less stylistically and graphically developed than it should be, but the Party clearly doesn't see that as an overriding priority. Unlike other groups, or the **Guardian**, who sell their newspapers for fifty cents or more (a year's subscription to the **Guardian** is seventeen dollars), **Challenge** sells for a dime. This makes it accessible, as an **agitational** tool, to thousands of workers who otherwise could not—or would not—buy it. **Challenge** is a newspaper written by workers, who have no use for the fancy phrases and complex language so beloved by some intellectuals. **Challenge** provides a proletarian perspective to workers from all walks of life, especially in its coverage of workers' struggles led by Party members in different parts of the country. **Challenge** counters **the bosses'** ideology and provides an alternative to the bosses' media and its gross distortion of workers' struggles (the recent miners' strike is a good example).

With its editorials, as well as with its news articles, **Challenge** also provides communist leadership for workers in their struggles. It is communist-led working-class journalism in the best

tradition of working class newsletters and informal information networks established as a part of revolutionary movements from the eighteenth century forward. Yet the Radical America article never considers these aspects of **Challenge**. Their "analysis" is thoroughly economistic, examining only the outward form of the papers' appearances, some guesses about circulation and the extent of their coverage of events around the world, etc. For some "leftist" papers that are a source of income and careers for their editorial staffs, such as the **Guardian** and the **Militant** (the newspaper of the trotskyist Socialist Workers Party), this might be appropriate. But for **Challenge**, and its **political** purpose, it clearly is not.

Such reasoning, of course, is outside the comprehension of liberal "leftists," and a world-view defined by bourgeois professionalism and "movement" journalism that apes the **New York Times**. The "ethics" of bourgeois journalism decree that newspapers should never advocate a position, and most liberal "left" newspapers (**In These Times, The Guardian** and **The Militant** all fill this description) appropriately limit their commentary to nicely worded, inoffensive editorial statements. **Challenge**, on the other hand, strives to report news from an openly **revolutionary** perspective, and in a manner calculated to identify the **principal** contradictions in any given situation. The difference is one of **active**, revolutionary journalism versus the liberal, **passive** and descriptive reporting found in newspapers ranging from the **Wall Street Journal** to the latest "independent" radical weekly. The object of **Challenge** and the Party , to paraphrase Marx, is not to merely record events, but to shape them.

WORKERS NEED A PARTY, NOT "MOVEMENTS"

A coherent, dialectical analysis, therefore, is the very essence of Leninism: a strategy arrived at democratically and implemented in a disciplined, centralized manner for maximum effectiveness. To defeat the capitalist ruling class, it is not sufficient to simply "build a movement." Movements can take many forms and can follow a wide variety of political lines. What is required is a **working class movement**, led by communists, in direct opposition to imperialism, racism, the special oppression of women, and other **political** manifestations of bourgeois hegemony. Politics, in a word, must be primary.

This outlook contrasts sharply with an approach one finds advocated regularly by liberal "radical" news-weeklies, most of which classify themselves as "Leninist" in one way or another. Here the emphasis is on any and all movements, whether they be nationalist, petit-bourgeois (in the case of many "feminist" groups), or sell-out trade unionists (Caesar Chavez is a good example). Somehow all of these activities are viewed as vaguely "left" or "progressive," despite their (occasionally overwhelming) anti-working class content. Does active support for these types of movements, covering the broadest scope of outlooks and activities, represent a coherent analysis assessing the prospects for class struggle and workers' revolution in this historical period? Or does it simply help sell newspapers? From a political perspective, it seems unlikely that such movements would be very effective in halting the development of fascist oppression in the U.S. (some may well help it). Most of them would be even less helpful for organizing a working class revolution.

The object of Challenge and the Party, to paraphrase Marx, is not merely to record events, but to shape them.

The question, in that case, is not one of building a movement generally, but one of building **certain kinds of movements** calculated to advance the working class struggle. Thus the Progressive Labor Party, recognizing the divisive role that racism has played in working class struggles historically, works to build the anti-racist movement along with members of the Committee Against Racism. PLP members have worked to help make CAR the kind of organization that will effectively oppose the develop-

ment of fascism in the U.S., by fighting **all** forms of racism and by leading CAR in sharp and militant struggles against the KKK, Nazis and other racist/fascist groups and individuals. This strategy flows from the Party's analysis of contradictions facing the American working class, which can be used to smash a working class movement, particularly racist ideology. Thus the fight against racism is **essential** to the struggle to build a socialist revolution, and is stressed accordingly.

Other types of movements may be linked in some ways to the working class, but in fact represent an altogether different set of class interests in general. While **apparently** "progressive," they are **essentially** quite bourgeois and do little to directly challenge the exploitative and oppressive social relations produced by capitalism. Active support for these sorts of movements, often at the expense of proletarian, anti-racist activities, reflects liberalism within the "Marxist Leninist" movement in the U.S. today. This sort of approach to organizing support for a revolution is in fact profoundly anti-Leninist, simply because it eschews any sort of analysis for "unity at any level," thus discarding the most powerful weapon of the working class: dialectical materialism.

Leninists must also be prepared to apply a dialectical analysis to the configuration of "left" forces in the United States today. As the ruling classes in the USSR and China continue to drift to the right in preparation for war, revisionist groups tied to the bosses in these countries will inevitably be dragged to the right as well. In this way the essence of their relationship to the working class will become increasingly manifest. These organizations will inevitably lose influence in the American working class as they are required to develop policies formulated in the interests of an increasingly international bourgeoisie. Some of them may split and splinter, as did the maoist group "Revolutionary Communist Party" a year ago. Examined at the level of **appearances**, some of these groups appear to be quite similar to PLP: they almost all talk about organizing workers for a revolution, they all quote Lenin and they all have cadre committed to a distinct political analysis. The **essence** of their historical role, however, is expressed in their political line, their strategy and their day to day practice.

Many Trotskyist, Maoist, and pro-Soviet groups have proliferated in recent years. These groups are enemies of the working class, no matter what the intention of their members—some of whom are confused center forces, many of whom are conscious anti-revolutionaries whose goals is to reform capitalism. Most of these groups are tied to the interests of foreign bosses (such as the Soviet bosses), or have built their analysis uncritically on revisionist, counter-revolutionary theories (like the Trots).

At the level of appearances the American left seems to be hopelessly fragmented by a wide variety of generally similar political formations, all of which appear to be generally stable. The **Radical America** article on "Leninism in the Seventies" saw little promise of change in the then current array of

Trotskyist, Maoist and pro-Soviet groups have proliferated in recent years. These groups are enemies of the working class.

"Leninist" groups, and discussed the "RCP" as one of the more important Maoist organizations in the country. The essence of the "RCP"'s political line, the basis upon which it was organized, however, was its relationship to the Chinese ruling class, not its revolutionary outlook or ties to American workers. Thus when there was a fight between the Hua Ku -feng and "Gang of Four" factions of the new Chinese bourgeoisie, the "RCP" was torn apart. Leninists must be prepared to apply a similar analysis to other revisionist groups and organizations in the U.S. today: what is the **essence** of their political line? Do they struggle to develop a **principled** analysis and strategy for socialist revolution in the United States? Or are they tied hopelessly to revisionist or historically compromising influences in the world today? When viewed from this perspective, the American left

While Radical America complains about the layout and writing style of CHALLENGE, members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party smash the Nazis.

is much less fragmented than it might appear from the description in **Radical America.**

In the past two years there have been sporadic efforts to organize Leninist parties of a "new" type, initiated by the **Guardian** and independent collectives in major cities around the country that vaguely identify themselves as a "trend." A "new" party would presumably be endowed with all the "advantages" of liberal democracy, without the "drawbacks" of disciplined centralism and a "dogmatic" or "sectarian" stand on important issues facing the working class (such as international questions). Not surprisingly, these efforts never succeeded. The issue that the leaders of these efforts, some honest forces and many opportunists, never acknowledged was the need for **principled** unity flowing from a scientific analysis of questions central to class struggle. The **Guardian** in particular tried to organize opportunistically on the basis of "unity at all costs," postponing discussion of important political issues and the formulation of a general analysis until it had gathered enough support for its own party-building ambitions. The effort failed because of liberalism: whatever "unity" was achieved at the expense of sharp analysis and principled struggle existed only at the level of **appearances.** The **essence** of political agreement and political development was never considered. Not wanting to hammer out differences in an uncompromising and principled manner, or to enforce strict observation of an advanced organizational line, the **Guardian** "left" liberals were unable to win anyone to their party-making schemes.

Future efforts to organize a "new" Leninist party are bound to suffer the same fate. There is simply no way around the necessity of internal discipline and a well-conceived political analysis of major problems facing the working class. If various "center" Leninist elements around the country cannot come to agreement on such basic issues as the nature of inter-imperialist rivalry, the role of revisionism, the national question and racism, they can never expect to become a leading force for the American working class as a whole.

A political party built on a compromised basis is weak, and will crack and split in the face of pressure from class

Instead of squabbling with dozens of "phony-left" grouplets, Progressive Labor has led thousands of workers in struggle against the ruling class and planted the seed for socialist revolution.

struggle. Such a party would hardly be a formidable adversary for the ruling class, regardless of the liberal hopes and ambitions of a few independent collectives around the country. Indeed, were such a liberal "Leninist" formation ever to effectively raise the level of class struggle high enough, their inability to resolve important differences would deliver workers leaderless into the arms of the bourgeoisie, where they would be slaughtered and crushed. Liberalism and Leninism are diametrically opposed, and until American "Leninists" are willing to recognize the need for scientific analysis and principled struggle as the **only** way of developing the unity necessary to lead a revolution, the current Leninist "movement" will remain still-born in local reform struggles and "independent" collectives.

The Progressive Labor Party is the only major Leninist political formation that has consistently, throughout its fourteen-year existence, fulfilled that role. Because of its political line, built on an understanding of **essential** relationships and contradictions facing the working class, PLP will continue to be a force on the left long after revisionist, trotskyist, and other opportunistic groups have been consumed in a cloud of factionalism, social democracy, and loyalties to competing revisionist powers. Viewed dialectically, the Progressive Labor Party is the only Marxist Leninist organization in the U.S. today that will be prepared to lead a socialist revolution in the wake of revolutionary crisis. Of course, PLP's ability to survive attacks from the ruling class, and ultimately to lead a revolution hinge on its ability to build a base among thousands and thousands of workers and students. But **politically**, the Party has consistently demonstrated its ability to formulate an appropriate dialectical analysis to lead workers to revolution. This is an aspect

of the American left that liberal "leftists" never fail to overlook when discussing Leninism in the United States, but it may be the most important revolutionary influence in the American working class today.

MANY PEOPLE ARE OPEN TO REVOLUTION AND THE PLP

In the wake of the anti-war movement of the late sixties and early seventies, there developed thousands of "independent" Marxist-Leninists in the United States. Many of these people today are workers, others are students or teachers at colleges, and most of them are honestly concerned with helping to build a workers' revolution in North America. The **Radical America** article, despite its negative conclusions, testified to the growth and impact of the most recent wave of Leninism in American history. As yet, however, the new Leninist movement is still quite immature. As indicated above, it is wrought with liberalism, it has yet to develop the need for a consistent and dialectically sound analysis to guide practice, and it generally lacks leadership. In short, despite sympathy to Marxism-Leninism, the movement has been unable to put Marxism-Leninism into practice. The individuals and collectives who make up the Marxist-Leninist movement will move in one of two directions: either back into the swamp of liberal reformism and revisionism, or forward into the Progressive Labor Party, the revolutionary communist Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S.A.

From the perspective of Progressive Labor Party, the development of a Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S., despite its liberal tendencies and touches of revisionist influence, should be viewed as a generally positive development. With the spread of Leninist ideas, many more people will be open to political struggle and will be willing to accept the Party's leadership as class struggle intensifies. Many "independent" Marxist-Leninists will join the Party as its influence grows and as it becomes involved in struggles in basic industry, on campuses, and in offices, hospitals and schools across the country. Many of these "new" Leninists are located in areas of the country where the Party has not yet developed a strong presence, and have no major political formation to work with. In other areas, such as Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the only "Leninist" groups are the maoists and trotskyites, who have organized many honest Leninist forces, and alienated others. These counter-revolutionary groups must be exposed as enemies of the working class. In the past the Party has recruited entire collectives, and has developed some of its leading cadre in certain areas of the country from "independent" Leninists. This sort of relationship with honest Marxist-Leninist forces should continue.

In this way the Party can play an important role in consolidating thousands of individuals who in one way or another have resolved that socialist revolution is indeed the **only** solution to alienation, exploitation, racism and war under capitalism. And the influx of new cadre, ever important, will help to develop the Party's analytical powers, refine its general line, and deepen its base in the working class. Such a struggle, and the development of such cadre—the development of the Party—can only take the working class forward in the period that lies ahead. When "independent" Marxist-Leninists resolve once and for all to combat their own liberalism, and to join with the only true Leninist Party in the U.S. today, it will be appropriate to speak of a truly **Leninist** movement in North America. And it is precisely this sort of Leninist **Party**, steeled with a dialectical analysis of revolutionary forces in the world, a base in the working class, and a commitment to armed insurrectionary struggle, that will keep the ruling class awake at night. The fight against liberalism is the fight for such a Party. Ultimately it is a fight for the entire working class.

The Marxist-Leninist movement will move back into liberal reformism and revisionism or forward into the Progressive Labor Party.

By K. S.

Part One:

Racist History of the Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan. Just the name evokes memories of lynchings, cross-burnings, and racist murders; of segregation; of attacks on minority workers, foreign-born workers, union organizers, Jews, Catholics, communists.

The Ku Klux Klan. Formed 110 years ago in Tennessee, "disbanded" in the 1870s, it has since gone through five revivals. The Klan started as a hooded racist vigilante group over 100 years ago; the sheets have since changed, the racism remains the same.

The Ku Klux Klan: the original U.S. fascists, preceding Hitler, Mussolini, and the American Nazi Party. The Ku Klux Klan: the racism of the liberal ruling class disguised as working-class "nativism."

The Ku Klux Klan. Here is the story of their racist violence, of their usefulness to capitalism, of how they were nurtured by the U.S. ruling class into an organization of millions of members, though only a fraction were active. It is also the story of how multi-racial unity, as part of the process in the fight for socialist revolution has stopped the Klan in the past, and how it can nail the present Klansmen, and their bourgeois benefactors, to their own burning crosses.

The Origins of the KKK, 1865-1872

1865—The Civil War had ended. The Northern industrial capitalists were victorious over the Southern feudal plantation holders. Human bondage was abolished; wage slavery

was now the order of the day.

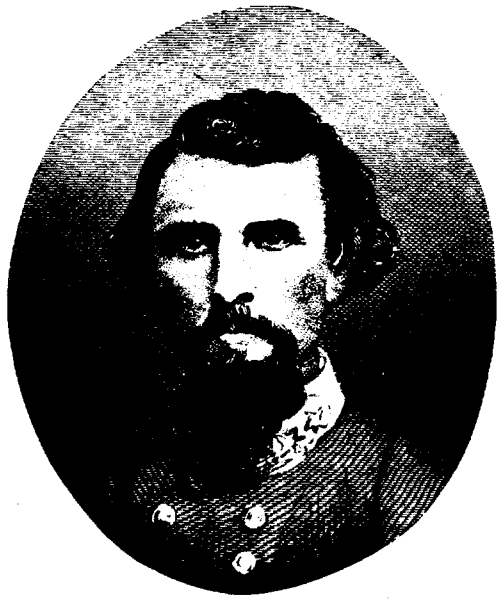
The defeated Southern aristocracy was desperate. Their armies were defeated; their supply of cheap labor taken from them, as former slaves refused to work for no pay. Many blacks moved to the cities, taking industrial jobs. Others became tenant farmers—working the land for rock-bottom wages. The "good ole days" of slavery were over—the last remnants of a dying society finally put to rest forever.

But, as with all bosses, the former slave-owning ruling class of the South took to the offensive in an attempt to regain their power. Thus was born the Ku Klux Klan.

> The South revised its strategy. The baby (black "equality") had not begun to walk when the men sat down to plan the funeral. In the beginning, naive men say, it was an organization for fun and social profit. The name: Ku Klux Klan. The first national meeting: April 1867. Room 10, the Maxwell House, Nashville's big new hotel. Confederate generals, colonels, substantial men of church and state, from Georgia, from Alabama, from all over. The leader: Nathan Bedford Forrest, the strong man of the Fort Pillow Massacre.* The plan: reduce Negroes to political impotence. How? By the boldest and most ruthless political operation in American history: By stealth and murder, by economic intimidation and political assassinations, by whippings and maimings, cuttings and shootings, by the knife, by the rope, by the whip. By the political use of terror, by the braining of the baby in its mother's arms, the slaying of the husband at his wife's feet, the raping of the wife before her husband's eyes. By Fear. (Bennett, 196-7)

In December 1865, in a town in rural Tennessee named Pulaski, six ex-confederate officers, fresh from their defeat at the hands of the armies of the industrial North, decided to form an organization to revitalize the "good ole days" of slavery. Stemming from "kuklos," the Greek word for "circle" (of racists), they called themselves the Ku Klux Klan.

It was not until 1867, however, that large numbers of "leading citizens"—newspaper editors, plantation owners, ex-confederate generals—began to view the Klan as the means to attack the Reconstruction governments which were set up by the U.S. government to bring the Confederacy back into the U.S. economy. Anyone who opposed slavery was fair game for Klan activities—black people (especially those who belonged to military or political organizations), Northern schoolteachers and politicians, Reconstruction officials who did not give whites priority. Their tactics varied from threats to exile to floggings, mutilations, and shootings, to stabbings and hangings.



GEN. NATHAN B. FORREST
Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan

The Klan was used by plantation owners throughout the South to prevent black workers (the so-called "freedmen") from organizing for more money and better conditions on the farms.

For example, a black South Carolina sharecropper, Jacob Montgomery, testified before a Congressional committee in 1871 that he had been visited by the Klan. He was told that if he attended any meetings of the Colored National Labor

* The Fort Pillow Massacre: where black men, women, and children were slaughtered.

Union "we'll kill you, but if you stick to (the landlord) we will stick to you." (Foner, p. 42)

W. Jones, a black Georgia sharecropper, was asked at the same Congressional hearing "What was the planter (landlord) going to take your life for?" Jones' response:

> He said I should not leave him; he wanted me to work with him and make 30 bags of cotton, and he promised to give me half. I went to him after I made the crop and asked for some pay to support my family. He said I should stay there and work for nothing. I said I could not stand it and was going to leave and join a union. He said if I should undertake to leave he would Ku-Klux me. (Foner)

During this period the KKK was active in Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida.

In some states the Klan was organized as a response to the Union Leagues (also known as the Loyal League)—an organization of black freedmen and mostly Northern whites. In some areas it was organized against Catholics. In some areas the KKK attacked the Republican Party (as was the case in 1868 in St. Landry, Louisiana when Klansmen attacked a Republican rally, killing and wounding over 200, and chasing many for two days through swamps and fields to gun them down.) IN ALL STATES THAT THE KU KLUX KLAN EXISTED, HOWEVER, THEY ATTACKED BLACK WORKERS. Racism is the lifeblood of the Klan; it is the slime that runs through Klansmen's veins.

The purpose of this racism was twofold. First, the plantation-owners, the ruling class of the South until recently, wanted to maintain the ex-slaves as cheap labor for their plantations or as tenant farmers who paid most of what they grew to the landlords. Second, **they wanted to prevent any possible unity between the poor whites of the South and the freedmen.** This unity was becoming more and more common in the Reconstruction period. **It was essential to terrorize, not only the Blacks, but any whites, Republicans, and others who agreed to work on an equal basis with Blacks in legislation, education, and on the job.**

Boston, 1978: Members of Progressive Labor Party and
Thousands of workers and students will be back on May D

DEATH TO THE KLAN!

ternational Committee Against Racism educate the Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Ku Klux Klan on City Hall steps.
y march, April 28, to hammer the lesson home.

1868 election cartoon
Seymour and Blair were the Democratic klandidates.

> Essentially, these bands (the K.K.K. and similar organizations) constituted a guerrilla army, functioning more or less secretly, whose main duties were to terrorize the whites who followed the Republicans, intimidate the local Radical Republican leaders and prevent the Negroes from exercizing their political rights. (Allen, p. 185.)

The ruling class of the U.S. had had long experience in the deliberate, calculated fostering of racism for the explicit purpose of destroying the strong tendencies towards multi-racial unity which the working classes have always shown. In the 17th century Southern colonies, slavery had not been confined to blacks alone. There a tiny plantation owning class had exploited black and white slaves, and many "indentured servants" whose conditions of servitude (as it was called) were little different from those of lifelong slaves (in fact indentured servants were commonly referred to as slaves).

By the mid-1600's there were several rebellions of these slaves, in which white and black had joined together in multi-racial unity to fight the plantation-owners. The Southern ruling class thereupon began to institute **racial** slavery. From that time, whites were to be "indentured servants" only. They might have very harsh conditions of servitude over many years, but would no longer be slaves for life, along with their children. Blacks were to be lifelong slaves only.

In addition, the Southern ruling class passed very harsh laws forbidding any friendship or marriage between white and black. As we know from records of the time, poor whites felt little or no hatred for blacks. Multi-racial marriages were very frequent among the poor workers during the 1600's and even much later.

There were two reasons for these moves by the ruling class. One was that they wanted to attract white settlers as labor for the colonies. The Southern ruling plantation owners were wise enough to want to avoid the situation which obtained in the Caribbean, where the Spanish and French colonies were populated entirely by black slaves, with a tiny number of white colonial rulers and military. This situation gave rise to many revolts by the slaves, which had to be ruthlessly suppressed with heavy loss of property (slaves killed, crops destroyed, etc.). The successful slave revolt of Hispaniola (Haiti) in the 1790's and 1800's later proved them correct. The Southern ruling class wanted a large white population which could not only provide cheap labor, but could also be used to police and control the slaves.

But white settlers had to be promised something more than slavery themselves, or they would not come. Therefore the second reason for the cration of **racial**, or blacks only, slavery, was **to split blacks from whites.** The plantation-owners did not need to "attract" blacks; they simply bought them (whites were not available in Europe as chattel slaves; blacks, in Africa, were). But this difference in status was **not** sufficient to turn whites against blacks and destroy the multi-racial unity between white and black workers. Therefore the harsh laws against multi-racial unity of any kind. A situation had to be created where poor whites and black slaves worked closely together, yet did not unite.

In order to "convince" poor whites to hate blacks, though, more was needed than force alone. So the Church was used to spread racist lies about blacks among poor whites. Church sermons and religious instruction were the main organs of

ruling-class propaganda. By the early 1800's, as Gossett shows, Southern rulers were paying educators to cook up more "scientific"-sounding racist theories.*

In the North, the slave trade was the basis of the fortunes of many of the merchants who formed the ruling class. So racist ideas were eagerly spread here as well (Myers).

Racism, then, was a result of **capitalism. Slavery was essential to the growth of capitalism,** both in Europe and in the New World. The African slave trade provided the huge profits which fueled the "primary accumulation" of capital that permitted the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in England in the mid-18th century (Williams). So the slave-trading and slave-owning ruling classes pushed racist ideas, which justified black slavery, early on. Yet **racism as an ideology**—the idea that poor white workers should identify their interest with those of the white ruling classes who exploited and killed them, and should help these ruling classes oppress the black workers and slaves who suffered essentially the same oppression— this **racist ideology** was **created** by the ruling classes, who knew that multi-racial unity of whites and blacks posed a mortal threat to their continued rule. The Klan simply represented the latest attempt by the Southern rulers to exploit and control both black and white workers through racist divisions.

During the period of the first KKK (1867-1872, thousands of black people were killed either by the Klan or by Klan-inspired white racists. In a six-month period in 1871 in South Carolina the KKK lynched and murdered 35 men; whipped 262 men and women, shot, burned, or mutilated 101 people; and raped 2 black women. During that same period black people killed 4 men; beat one man; committed 16 cases of "outrages" and committed no tortures or rapes. (The Klan always claimed they were "defending" white people from the "atrocities" committed by black people.

In 1871 in Florida, 153 men were murdered by the KKK or their ilk in Jackson County alone.

In thirty counties of Texas, 1035 people were killed between 1866 and 1868.

Though the KKK organization existed in many states there was no real centralized leadership. The glue that held it together was **racism.** It was born of racism; weaned, nurtured, and maintained by racism; and was sent to its organizational death in 1872 still smelling of the disease of virulent racism.

The leaders of the Klan were ex-confederate generals like Imperial "Lizard" Nathan Bedford Forrest, newspaper editors, politicians, judges, Southern businessmen, and cops. They promoted it, gave it publicity and money, and allowed racist acts to occur unhindered.

For instance, historian Lawrence Rice pointed out that the Klan was all but defunct in Texas by the early 1870s, but was still given massive publicity and was egged on by Texas politicians and judges. George Tindall showed that the KKK arose in South Carolina directly from the police during Reconstruction. Historian David Chalmers pointed out that the Reconstruction Governments—the military rule by Northern politicians and armies in the Southern states following the Civil War—mainly harassed the black workers they were supposed to be protecting and allowed unfettered the growth of the Klan. (Incidentally, it was only after thousands of black people were killed in the South that Federal troops were used, usually half-heartedly, against the Klan in 1869.)

One story has it that even General Robert E. Lee, confederate military leader, aided the KKK. When the Klan first started, an effort was made to get Lee to head it. He said he was physically unable to do so, but thought the idea was a good one. He is said to have given it "invisible" support—thus the name "the Invisible Empire of the KKK."

The Klan did not arise in 1867 in a vacuum. The organization grew as the logical outgrowth of racism and chauvinism which had always been pushed by the U.S. ruling class. The "Founding Fathers," Washington, Jefferson, et. al., were slaveholders and wrote into the Constitution that black people were only

* See Lerone Bennett, Jr., "The Road Not Taken," *Ebony*, August 1970; reprinted by INCAR; James Allen, *Reconstruction*; also see the review of Howard Fast's novel *Freedom Road*, in *Challenge-Desafio*, May 3, 1978, p. 10.

3/5 the equivalent of whites. Naturally they cooked up phony scientific theories to justify the racist exploitation and terror which made them rich. In his **Notes on Virginia** (1786) Jefferson stated that black people were "inferior" because: blacks are "ugly"; have a "very strong and disagreeable odor"; "proceed from a wont of forethought"; have musical ability since they are "capable of imagining a small catch" but are unable to learn a complicated melody; and "in imagination they are dull, tasteless and anomalous." (Gossett, p. 42-44) Though Jefferson wrote "all men are created equal" in the Declaration of Independence neither he nor the "Founding Fathers" believed a word of it.

Jefferson and Co. were followed by a gaggle of pro-slavery advocates. One common theory was that black people and Native American Indians were of a different and inferior species from white people. A leading advocate of this theory, a Mobile, Alabama, doctor named Josiah Clark Nott, claimed that blacks were closer to the chimpanzee and orangutan than to the Caucasian. Of Native Americans: "it is in vain to talk of civilizing them. You might as well attempt to change the nature of the buffalo." Added Nott: "...dark-skinned races, history attests, are only fit for military governments. It is the unique rule genial to their physical nature: they are unhappy without it."

Out of the racism and chauvinism necessary to the American ruling class arose the first fascist organizations.

These racist theories, and others—phrenology, the theory of the superiority of the "Teutonic race," etc.—were pushed widely throughout the U.S. prior to and during the growth of the KKK and of Klan-like organizations. Out of the racism and chauvinism which was **necessary** to the American ruling class, north as well as south, from earliest colonial days, arose the first fascist organizations!

In 1852, an organization arose in New York State called the Know-Nothings, which shortly after became the American Party. The American Party was viciously anti-immigrant and anti-anything not Protestant. They opposed all forms of immigration and believed in "America for Americans."

Shortly thereafter a series of anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic organizations began to grow. Most prominent among them were the American Protective Association and the National League for the Protection of American Institutions (NLPAI). The NLPAI was organized and led directly by the U.S. ruling class of North and South. Its leading members included: John Jay (President of the NLPAI); U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Strong; U.S. Supreme Court Justice Peckham; Brown University President Andrews; Stanford University President Jordan; Northwestern University President Rogers; President of the American Bar Association Henry Hitchcock; and J.P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Charles Scribner, Cyrus Field, and Rutherford B. Hayes (U.S. President, 1876-1880; he removed Northern troops from the South, allowing racist attacks on black people to occur completely unhindered).

From the heritage of the NLPAI and American Protective Association grew a slew of anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-black groups in the South in the 1860s, the most infamous being the KKK. Other racist groups of the time were the Knights of the White Camelia, Constitutional Union Guards, Pale Faces, White Brotherhood, Council of Safety, '76 Association, White League of Louisiana, White Line of Mississippi, and Rifle Clubs of South Carolina. The stated purpose of all these organizations was to establish and maintain "white supremacy" in the South—i.e. to regain power for the plantation owners, to guarantee continued cheap black labor, and to keep poor whites from allying with blacks.

In 1866 the head of the Freedman's Bureau in Georgia complained that bands of men calling themselves Regulators, Jayhawkers, and the Black Horse Cavalry were committing the "most fiendish and diabolical outrages on the freedmen" with the help of some local citizens **as well as of some of the Reconstruction**

Government officials. (Franklin, p. 327).

From this long tradition of U.S. ruling class racism arose the Ku Klux Klan.

Despite the backing of the South's most prominent men, despite the widespread racism, there was opposition to the Klan. Thousands of black and white workers prevented the Klan from arising or growing in many areas and often rose up themselves to crush it. For example, 2000 black and white men were mobilized in Arkansas to break up dens of the KKK.

During the first period of Klan activity, the KKK was active (1) only in the South; and (2) only in the upland areas, where whites outnumbered blacks but lived near them in semi-segregated communities. The Klan was non-existent in the large cities, and in tidewater, coastal, delta, and "black belt" regions. The Klan played upon the fear of some white people that the "free" blacks would compete for the same jobs and land as white workers. It was only in areas such as these that the Klan achieved any success.

•

> The white tenant lives adjoining the colored tenant. Their houses are almost equally destitute of comforts. Their living is confined to bare necessities. They are equally burdened with heavy taxes. They pay the same high rent for gullied and impoverished land.
>
> They pay the same enormous prices for farm supplies. Christmas finds them both without any satisfactory return for a year's toil. Dull and heavy and unhappy, they both start the plows again when 'New Year's' passes.
>
> Now the People's Party says to these two men, "**You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars both.**"
>
> This is so obviously true it is no wonder both these unhappy laborers stop to listen. No wonder they begin to realize that **no change of law can benefit the white tenant which does not benefit the black one likewise; that no system which now does injustice to one of them can fail to injure both.** Their every material interest is identical. The moment this becomes a conviction, mere selfishness, the mere desire to better their conditions, escape onerous taxes, avoid usurious charges, lighten their rents, or change their precarious tenements into smiling, happy homes, will drive these two men together, just as their mutually inflamed prejudices now drive them apart. (Thomas E. Watson, North Carolina Populist leader, "The Negro Question in the South," **Arena**, VI, October, 1892, emphasis added.)

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After the end of Reconstruction in 1877 there was still a strong current of anti-racist solidarity between black and white workers and farmers. 1892 saw the New Orleans General Strike. There the mainly white New Orleans AFL unions stood in solidarity with the black Teamsters, refusing to give in even when the city bosses filled the press with horror story-lies of "Negro atrocities" and attacked the white workers as "traitors to their race." This heroic example of multi-racial, working-class unity in the Heart of Dixie has been buried by the bosses' "historians." But it is only one instance of how strong class consciousness and anti-racial sentiment ran, even in the Old South (for the story of this strike, see **Challenge-Desafio**, May 5, 1975, "Monthly Supplement").

There were many, many other examples of anti-racist, multi-racial struggles in the South and throughout the country during this period. "Although few workers of the nineteenth century seemed to be completely free from incipient racist thought and action, employers must accept the greater share of the blame for the growing racism." (John H. Keiser, "Black Strikebreakers and Racism in Illinois, 1865-1900," **Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,** Autumn, 1972, p. 326). The anti-racist history of the United Mine Workers has been only begun to be told; multi-racial class solidarity against the boss ran high among Southern workers

in this key industry, where the mine owners and politicians tried hardest to build the Klan after the turn of the century, as we shall see.*

It was precisely during the 1890's—years of terrible depression and unemployment for workers—that there arose the mightiest multi-racial political force since John Brown and until the C.I.O—the Populists or People's Party. And it was built in the heartland of Klanism and racism, in the plantation-owner's South! The Populists included blacks among their most prominent leaders in every Southern state. As the quotation above—from the most prominent populist leader of the 1890's—shows, the Populists understood the economic basis for unity among white and black farmers.

The Populists met with ruling-class terror. But attacks on Populist strongholds were coupled with a subtler, even more deadly approach. Populist leaders, like Watson, were not workers or farmers, but well-off, petty bourgeois "thinkers." The Democrats bought off many of them, including Watson, with the promise that they would extend reforms to the poor white farmers if the populists agreed to the Democrat and Republican scheme to create "Jim-Crowism," a system of complete subjection of Southern blacks based upon race. Watson and the rest, disappointed by defeats at the polls (many blacks still voted Republican, remembering the Civil War) and unwilling to admit blacks to **social** (as opposed to political—a distinction these elitists made) equality with whites, agreed. The liberal, anti-communist historian C. Van Woodward has shown how "Jim Crow" laws were deliberately enacted as part of a campaign by the Southern ruling class, in a very short time. In 1895 there were NO such laws; by 1901 EVERY STATE had a whole series of such laws (The Strange Career of Jim Crow).

One of the most important aspects of such laws was to make marriage, comradeship and equality in work, and every kind of social get-together between blacks and whites, illegal and punishable by very harsh sentences. The racists' lie was that only blacks wanted such contacts. In fact, the laws were at least equally aimed at destroying the strong traditions of multi-racial unity felt by poor whites in many parts of the South, traditions upon which the Populists had successfully built.

Thus the Southern ruling class turned to the Democratic Party and gave it the "solid South" vote for decades, in return for the guarantee of racist separation between black and white. The result was, of course, conditions little better than slavery or even worse for black workers and tenant farmers in the South. But the result was little different for white workers and farmers. In the South white workers and farmers had the lowest level of unionization; the lowest incomes and standards of living; the highest mortality rates of diseases of poverty; the highest rates of illiteracy of any U.S. workers **except** Southern blacks.

History shows that the ruling class lie of "reverse racism" is a masquerade for an attack on ALL workers. The "Jim Crow" appeal by the Southern rulers to poor whites ("white trash" expressed the Southern ruling class' real feelings about poor whites) can only get ahead if BLACKS ARE KEPT DOWN. Anything that Blacks get, they take away from you—because 'there's only so much to go around'." But the reality was the opposite. Because "Jim Crow" outlawed multi-racial unity, BOTH WHITE AND BLACK were held down. Strike after militant strike of white workers was broken by using black workers as scabs, or by attacking the strike as "pro-integration." White tenant farmers were either pushed off their land to make way for black tenants who could be forced to work for less or saw their rents raised to higher and higher levels, "because we can always get blacks to work for these rents."

And this Myth of Reverse Racism was pushed—by the "progressive" (that's what the historians call them) Democratic Party, led by such liberals as Woodrow Wilson. Today, the same racism is pushed by the liberals and the Supreme Court (the BaKKKe Decision). The goal is the same, too—to split white workers from black, thereby lowering the standard of living of both, and smashing any attempts to organize united working-class fight-backs against the bosses. Racism is a knife in the breast of all workers, white and minority. It's three

* See 1978 *Challenge-Desafio*, series on Anti-Racist History of UMW, 6/15, 6/22, 6/28, 7/12, 7/26; also letter from INCAR chairperson Finley Campbell, *Challenge-Desafio*, 1/5/78, p. 9.

A night raid of the Ku Klux Klan. Raids were used to intimidate freed slaves and poor whites who allied with them.

inches into minorities, who are hurt worst—but it's two inches into white workers, who are also hurt by racism.

It is out of this soil of fascist-type racism that the Klan of the 'Teens grew and flourished.

The Filth of a Nation

Long after its official "demise," stories of the KKK and the "old South" remained. In 1902, a Southern "intellectual" whose relatives had been members and sympathizers of the Klan wrote **The Leopard's Spots**, a book about how his native Carolinas were twice redeemed from "black degradation." The writer, Thomas Dixon, had gone to graduate school at Johns Hopkins University where he made friends with an up-and-coming lawyer, Woodrow Wilson. He later moved to New York, where he became friends with John D. Rockefeller.

In 1905, Dixon wrote a sequel to his 1902 best-seller. He called it **The Clansman, an historic romance of the Ku Klux Klan.** It was an immediate hit. The plot was simply a "love story"—nothing more than a fascistic soap-opera!

> Ben Cameron, the heroic young Confederate colonel was being tended in the prison hospital by Elsie Stoneman, the lovely sister of his captor, the equally young Union officer, Phil Stoneman. Phil, in turn, fell in love with Ben's darling sister. With the war over, surely love would find a way. However the devil "ex machina" entered in the person of Phil and Elsie's father, Congressman Stoneman, an enormously malevolent copy of Thaddeus Stephens, Stoneman was determined to punish the South for its transgressions. The instrument of his hate and madness was to be the Negro, and for Thomas Dixon this meant turning the South into a great carnal Valhalla. Dixon's portrait of the crazed venomous Stoneman was a com-

pelling one. His Abraham Lincoln, apart from his excessive proneness to debate the position of Negro inferiority,* caught the humanity and the trials and sadness of the martyred President. Dixon pictured him as the last protective bastion between Stoneman and the defenseless South, and the President's difficulties with the stern, hateful Stanton were great drama in the midst of melodrama. The Negro was a brute, and Reconstruction a tragedy beyond all bearing. The Negro was not a citizen and an equal, not even a child as yet unprepared. He was a semi-savage descendent of an old and degenerate animal race. "For a thick-lipped, flat-nosed, spindle-shanked negro, exuding his nauseating animal odor, to shout in derision over the hearths and homes of white men and women is an atrocity too monstrous for belief," Ben Cameron's father told the evil Stoneman. But Stoneman would have it no other way. And so it began, with rapine in the seats of government—and in the hearth-temple of Southern worship:

"We have no money..." she pleaded, a sudden glimmer of hope flashing in her blue eyes.

Gus stepped closer, with an ugly leer, his flat nose dilated, his sinister bead eyes wide apart, gleaming apelike as he laughed:

"We aint atter money!"

The girl uttered a cry, long, tremulous, heart-rending, piteous.

A single tiger spring, and the black claws of the beast sank into the soft white throat and she was still.

With Lincoln, the Great Protector, dead, was there no one to deliver the South? No one but the South itself, in the form of the Ku Klux Klan, led in the Carolina uplands by its Grand Dragon Ben Cameron. Though the despoiled girl had thrown herself from a cliff, the retinal image of her assailant lay ready in her eyes to guide her revengers. The redemption of the South was on its way! "The old club-footed Puritan, in his mad scheme of vengeance and party power, had overlooked the Covenanter, the backbone of the South. This man had just begun to fight!" In the end, God's justice was done, Civilization saved, and the South redeemed from shame. (Chalmers, p. 24-25)

The Clansman was such a hit, Dixon decided to adapt it for the stage. He himself took the lead in one of several companies which toured the country. Not satisfied with this, he decided to turn it into a movie. The bulk of this task fell to director D.W. Griffith.

Griffith took Dixon's book and added yet more racism to it. First he portrayed how black slaves lived a not-unhappy life on the Southern plantations. He then added a musical score by Richard Wagner, the famous advocate of Nordic racial superiority, follower of Count de Gobineau, the "father of scientific racism," and father-in-law of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, one of Hitler's favorite ideologues. Griffith had the audience in a frenzy with his climax, using Wagner's score, as hooded Klansmen saved Stoneman's daughter (played by famous actress Lillian Gish) from a black mob.

When Griffith showed the finished film to Dixon, Dixon liked the movie so much he felt the title **The Clansmen** was too tame. Instead, Griffith and Dixon believed their racist flick to be so important they re-titled it **Birth of a Nation.**

As the film began to be shown around the nation, protests mounted. **Birth** was egged by angry crowds in New York City, and protested by an anti-racist rebellion in Boston, nearly forcing the Massachusetts legislature to ban it. Most major cities in the North and West were forced to censor large sections of the film.

*This is Chalmers' nonsense, Lincoln was *famous* for his pronouncements on Black inferiority, and for being very reluctant to free the slaves, even though doing so—apart from its morality—would have tied down thousands of Confederate soldiers to guard the plantations. Lincoln's racism is vividly, though only partly, revealed in Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Was Abe Lincoln a White Supremacist?", *Ebony*, February 1968.

To counter-attack against the anti-racist protests, Griffith and Dixon pulled out their ace in the hole. Dixon called upon his old friend Woodrow Wilson, now President of the United States, and arranged for a private showing of **Birth** at the White House for the President, Cabinet, and their families. When the film ended Wilson was so moved he exclaimed "It is like writing history with lightening and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true." (Chalmers, p. 26-27)

After his triumph at the White House, Dixon arranged for a private showing at the U.S. Supreme Court.

Then, with the air of Dixon's old North Carolina friend, Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels, an interview was arranged with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Justice Edward White was reputedly not a man much interested in social pleasantries, and Dixon got right to the point. He wanted the court to see a picture about the Ku Klux Klan that President Wilson had highly praised. At the mention of the Klan, White's manner changed:

"You tell the true story of the Klan?"

"Yes—for the first time—"

White removed his glasses, Dixon recalled, pushed his book aside, and leaned back in his big swivel chair. His strong lips contracted and then relaxed in a curious smile. He leaned toward Dixon and said in low tense tones.

"I was a member of the Klan, sir... Through many dark night, I walked my sentinel's beat through the ugliest streets of New Orleans with a rifle on my shoulder... you've told the true story of that uprising of outraged manhood?"

"In a way I'm sure you'll approve," Dixon replied.

"I'll be there!" the Chief Justice announced firmly. Word of official approval smoothed the path and the pictured opened triumphantly in New York. Before it was retired to the art theatres and film clubs, **The Birth of a Nation** grossed almost eighteen million dollars. (Chalmers, p. 27)

W. J. SIMMONS
The Grand Lizard of the Klan

The Re-Birth of the KKK

On Thanksgiving Eve 1915, at Stone Mountain, Georgia, 16 miles outside Atlanta, 25 men met to resurrect the Ku Klux Klan. Its leader was William J. Simmons, a former Methodist minister who had been expelled from the church in 1912 for "moral impairment," and former garter salesman. When **Birth of a Nation** opened in Atlanta, Simmons ran advertisements for the Klan next to ads for **Birth**.

Within a short time, the Klan had 90 members in Georgia. Among the first were Robert Ramspect, a future Georgia congressman and Paul Etheridge, a member of Atlanta's Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues.

When the U.S. entered World War I in 1917, the Klan found themselves a purpose. The nation had to be defended against "alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders, and immoral women." Simmons was asked to join the Citizen's Bureau of Investigation, a government-sponsored group to help the war effort.

Throughout 1917 and 1918, Klansmen did their patriotic duty. Robed Klansmen intervened in a shipyard strike in Mobile,

The Klan parades in Washington, D.C. in 1925. The local authorities and Congress were always happy to cooperate.

Alabama, hunted down draft dodgers, and marched in patriotic parades. By 1919, the KKK had several thousand members.

Yet the organization stagnated until 1920 when two publicists, Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, stepped in. Clarke had been running a Harvest Home Festival in Atlanta, while Mrs. Tyler had handled the "Better Babies parade." Clarke, Tyler, Simmons and the Klan were just right for each other.

Clarke and Tyler began giving the KKK a massive public relations image by placing ads in major newspapers around the country. It was at this time that two ideas were incorporated into the KKK "program." First, there was the notion of "100% Americanism." The Klan, which had always been anti-immigrant, Catholic, Jew and black, became even more so. Second, the Klan supported and pushed for the idea of sterilizing black people—a technique which was already in widespread practice throughout the U.S.

The Klan had some famous company in supporting sterilization and miscegenation (laws preventing intermarriages between whites and non-whites). Academicians, like LewisTerman (the man

who brought the Binet I.Q. test to the U.S.), Robert Yerkes (chief of the U.S. Army Testing Program and Harvard Univ. psychology professor), William McDougall (**Is America Safe for Democracy?**), Lothrop Stoddard (**The Rising Tide of Color**), Madison Grant (**The Passing of a Great Race**), Henry Goddard (of the Eugenic Records office), and Walter V. Bingham (of the Carnegie Institute).

Industrialists like John D. Rockefeller, E.H. Harriman, and J.H. Kellogg (of Cornflake fame) were publicly calling for the same thing. The Eugenics Records Office and Race Betterment Foundation were set up for the purpose of propagating eugenics (the murdering of "inferior" peoples) with funding from the Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation, U.S. Steel, Ford Motor Company, Aetna Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and National Cash Register Company. So the Klan was nurtured and pushed by the U.S. ruling class on every side.*

Arguing for sterilization, Terman claimed in 1924:

> (1) The racial stocks most prolific of gifted children are those from Northern and Western Europe, and the Jewish. The least prolific are the Mediterranean races, the Mexicans and the Negroes. (2) The fecundity of the family stocks from which our gifted children come appears to be definitely on the wane. This is an example of the differential birth rate which is rapidly become evident in all civilized countries. It has been figured out that if the present differential birth rate continues, 1000 Harvard graduates will at the end of 200 years have but 50 descendants, while in the same period 1000 South Italians will have multiplied to 100,000. (from PLP, p. 7)

Thus the Klansmen had their academic underpinnings. It is because there has always been a close link between the ruling class, racist theories and theorists (the Termans and Yerkes of yesteryear; the Jensens, Herrnsteins, E.O. Wilsons and Pierre van den Berghes of today), and racist practices (from the KKK and Nazist Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young) that organizations such as the Progressive Labor Party and the International Committee Against Racism have pointed out that the gray-flannel academic racists of today pave the way for the hooded racists of tomorrow.

With their beefed-up public relations staff, the Klan soon grew to nearly 100,000 members by 1921. The typical Klan campaign consisted of fighting around a liberal or "populist" issue—i.e. against corruption in government, against bootlegging, etc.—and coupled it with intense racism and "100% Americanism." This technique is still used by modern-day fascists. For example, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) in Rosedale, New York has been involved in anti-SST (super-sonic transport) activities at John F. Kennedy Airport. Their true purpose, however, is to build a movement, not against airplanes, but against black people and immigrants. They have taken a page from the organizing tactics of the 1920s Klan.

A typical KKK organizing tactic in the 1920s was to go to all Protestant ministers and ask them to join the Klan. Once some did, they urged the ministers to then recruit the congregation. Hun-

* See "Eugenics: The Survival of the Bosses," *PL* Vol. 9, No. 1 (April, 1973), pp. 78-96; "Behind the Racist Eugenics Movement: A Century of Ruling-class Effort," *PL*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (July, 1973), pp. 63-70. William Provine, "Geneticists and the Biology of Race Crossing," *Science*, 182 (23 Nov. 1973), pp. 790-796, shows how the "science of genetics in the U.S. before World War II pushed such virulent racism that the Nazis in Germany imitated it! Racism in economics at the time is shown by Robert Cherry, "Racial Thought and the Early Economics Profession," *Review for Social Economy*, 33 (Oct. 1976), pp. 147-162; he also has a good bibliography. Finally see Alan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus*, on rampant racism among the scientific and educational elite.

"Investigate them? *Heck, that's mah posse."*

dreds and hundreds of clergy joined the Klan this way, leading to thousands and thousands of new Klansmen. Periodically, hooded Klansmen would lead a congregation in "prayer."

By 1921, the Ku Klux Klan had become big business. Its leaders, Simmons, Clarke, and Tyler were cleaning up from the Klan's coffers. In 1921, they incorporated, becoming the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. A Klan manufacturing company—the Gate City Manufacturing Company of Atlanta—was established as the sole manufacturer of Klan regalia. Simmons and Co. set up their own printer and publisher—Searchlight Publishing Company—and their own real estate company.

By 1923, the Klan had between two and three million members. Let us pause for a moment and evaluate the reasons why the KKK grew to such proportions in the early 1920s.

(1) **The Klan grew on the heels of unchecked racism against black workers.** In 1919, 1920, and 1921 black workers were attacked, beaten and murdered in a series of racist riots throughout the major cities in the U.S. In all of these riots, police and politicians co-operated with the American Legion and other racist groups in aiding these attacks on black workers. Such racist riots occurred in East St. Louis, Houston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Charleston, Omaha, Knoxville, and Washington, D.C., in 1919; in 1920 in Duluth and in Independence, Kansas; and in 1921 in Tulsa and in Springfield, Ohio. These racist riots occurred because the ruling class was stepping up its efforts to divide white workers from black, and so stop or sidetrack the militant struggles which the working class was engaged in in the post-War years. These years, we should recall, witnessed the Seattle General Strike of 1919, in support of the Bolshevik revolution; the great Steel Strike, led by William Z. Foster, later head of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and thousands of other militant strikes. Labor organizations all over the country, notably the Chicago Federation of Labor, sent messages of solidarity to the workers of socialist Russia. In response the U.S. ruling class founded the American Legion as an anti-socialist organization of goons to attack strikers; sponsored the beating, lynching and murder of dozens of members of the militant I.W.W. (the Industrial Workers of the World, or "Wobblies"); and created the great "Red Scare" under the guidance of Attorney-General J. Mitchell Palmer. Thousands of immigrant workers were deported as "radicals"; thousands of others, including many teachers, were fired. This anti-working class attack is where the young J. Edgar Hoover got his start. So the boss-sponsored riots were another aspect of this attempt to split the working class and blunt its attack.

(2) **The 1920s Klan grew due to the intense feelings of patriotism present from World War I.** To send the nation to war, massive doses of national chauvinism were applied by the ruling class to whip up the aroused sentiment necessary to field a fighting force. One result was the KKK.

(3) **The 1920s Klan grew as a response to increased immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.** A tremendous amount of racism existed towards Italians, Russians, Poles, and Slavs. When an increased number of these peoples came to the U.S. in the early 1900s—many of them being Jewish and Catholic—the Klan found itself an issue. In order to divide workers against one another,

the ruling class pushed the belief that Southern and Eastern Europeans were mentally deficient, dirty, lazy, etc. This view was backed up "scientifically" by the eugenicists of the day.

The Klan showed its "flexibility" on this issue by attacking anyone not white and Protestant. For instance, Italian storekeepers were boycotted by the KKK in East Frankfurt, Illinois. In Palataka, Florida, a Greek man was flogged by the Klan for dating a "white" woman. In Macon, Georgia, the Klan ordered all Syrians to leave town. This brings us to the next reason for the Klan's growth.

(4) **The Klan's growth was given its racist underpinnings by the theories of prominent academicians, especially in the eugenics movement.** Racists could always point to the work of Terman, Grant, or Goddard for "scientific-sounding" justification.*

(5) **The Klan's growth was helped by the influence of religion.** All religions say, either explicitly or implicitly, that other people are second-rate. The Klan played upon existing anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish sentiments to grow. Protestant ministers played a prominent role in the Klan. During the 1920s, the KKK—in an attack on Catholics—spread the rumor that the Pope had bought some high ground over both West Point and Washington, D.C. and was planning to commandeer both places for organized Catholicism.

(6) **The Klan grew as an anti-communist response to the Russian Revolution.** After the 1917 revolution, the international bourgeoisie went crazy. The loss of Russia into the hands of the working class made bosses everywhere foam at the mouth. They launched the most vicious anti-communist campaign ever seen to try to slander Communist Russia. The opportunistic Klan quickly found a ready-made issue. They coupled anti-communism with an anti-immigrant appeal, since many immigrants were coming from Russia and Eastern Europe. Thus, the KKK and the ruling-class press could harmonize about how immigrants were "importing Bolshevism" to the U.S.

(7) **The Klan's growth was helped immensely by publicity given by the ruling class: the media, the arts, politicians.** The national showing of **Birth of a Nation** started the Klan's resurgence, and the blessings of President Woodrow Wilson and other prominent politicos helped. An early 1920s "exposé" of the Klan by the **New York World** gave the Klan just the national exposure it needed. This "exposé" told the reader everything they needed to know about the Klan; the articles had everything but a sign-up sheet and box for donations. Additional exposure was given the Klan when Congress "investigated" it in what was, even at that time, considered a farcical hearing. Grand Lizard Simmons attributed the signing up of a few million members to the **World's** exposé and the Congressional hearing.

(8) **The Klan grew in areas where local politicians, cops, businessmen, and "civic leaders" played an important role in the Klan.** When Klansmen knew they had immunity from arrest, they were emboldened to carry out their racist designs at a stepped-up pace.

...The KKK and the press could harmonize about how immigrants were "importing Bolshevism."

(9) **The Klan grew in areas where their racist terror was not met with working class violence.** When local workers fought fire with fire by organizing to stomp out the Klan, few hoods and cross burnings were to be found. It was mainly when the KKK could run roughshod over a community that they took full advantage of it.

(10) **The Klan grew by appealing to existing sexism.** The KKKers stated purpose was to defend wives, mothers, and daughters from "immorality." Klansmen were not above "immoral" acts of their own—as rape was a typical method of terror used. In Ohio and

* See Leon Kamin, "I.Q. Tests As Instruments of Oppression," *South Today*, July, 1973, pp 4 and 9, reprinted by INCAR.

Oregon, for instance, there was the widespread raping of Catholic nuns by Klansmen. Also, Indiana Klan leader D.C. Stephenson was jailed for raping a woman. Additionally, the only role played by women in the Klan was in a women's auxiliary, as only men were allowed to join the KKK.

(11) **The Klan grew particularly large in Northern states in the 1920s due in part to the widespread migration of black workers from the rural South to the urban North.** The fight for too-few jobs pushed some white workers into the racist alternative of the Ku Klux Klan. But most Klansmen in the North were cops, and various petty-bourgeois types.

The revival of the KKK was helped immensely by publicity given it by the mass media. There were four main waves of ruling class publicity which brought the Klan millions of new recruits. The first has already been discussed: the hoopla around the showing of **Birth of a Nation.** The second began on September 6, 1921.

The **New York World** began on September 6, 1921 a daily series of articles, ostensibly to "expose" the Klan to the public. This series ran for three weeks. In these articles the **World** detailed the purposes, ideals, and practices of the Klan. It was, in essence, "everything you never wanted to know about the Klan and didn't need to ask."

Not to be outdone, the **Journal-American,** part of the chain of newspapers run by William Randolph Hearst, charged into the Klan-exposure fray with a series of articles about the internal gossip within the Atlanta Klan.

Though both the **World** and **Journal-American** articles were syndicated nationally, other newspapers began their own series of Klan articles. These included the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** Boston **Globe,** Pittsburgh **Sun,** Cleveland **Plain-Dealer,** New Orleans **Times-Picayune,** Seattle **Times, Daily Oklahoman,** Houston **Chronicle,** Dallas **Morning News,** and Columbia (Ga.) **Enquirer-Sun.** The Klan articles led to the third wave of publicity during this period, a Congressional "investigation."

The KKK "expose" brought the New York **World** an increased readership of about 100,000. **The articles also brought the Ku Klux Klan an increased membership of over one million.**

Exclaimed Grand Lizard Simmons:

> It wasn't until the newspapers began to attack the Klan that it really grew. Certain newspapers also aided us by inducing Congress to investigate us. The result was that Congress gave us the best advertising we ever got. Congress made us. (Chalmers, p. 38)

On the heels of the massive newspaper campaign came another source of publicity: a Congressional investigation. The Capitol Hill antics were also given much play in the media. Despite the fact that President Warren G. Harding had refused to act on Klan violence, there was a considerable outcry for Congress to "act." What outraged the pious politicians was not the Klan's racism, but the fact that the hooded order was so vulger about flaunting bourgeois law. According to one Massachusetts congressman, the Klan was guilty of violation of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Thirteenth Amendments, in that it had outraged religious freedom and the prohibitions against illegal seizure, trial, punishment, and involuntary servitude. Additionally, what really irked many congressmen was that the Klan had not been paying its income taxes.

The investigations began. The committee heard a few days of boring testimony about Klan finances and organization, about how Grand Lizard Simmons was not a good bookkeeper, about internal gossip. Soon it was time for the grand finale. The Grand Lizard himself would testify.

The newspapers, which had been waiting with baited breath for an opportunity to put the KKK on Page One, were ecstatic. The newspapers had been hovering around the Congressional committee, like flies around an elephant pit. Finally they would have their front page headlines as Simmons began his testimony.

Simmons had been introduced to the Congressional committee by Representative W.D. Upshaw of Georgia. Here are Upshaw's not-to-be-missed (and the newspapers didn't) words.

> Knowing his (Simmons') sterling character as I do, I am prepared to underwrite his every utterance as the truth of an honest patriotic man. I do not know "what all" Colonel Simmons has been doing behind closed doors,

The Klan has always draped itself in "patriotic" poses and pushed nationalism and anti-immigrant policies to win workers into supporting racist positions.

but I do know that, as a sturdy and inspiring personality, as a heroic veteran of the Spanish-American War, as an honored Knight Templar and member of something like a dozen other honored and well-known fraternities, as a consecrated churchman, and a God-fearing citizen, he is as incapable of an unworthy, unpatriotic motion, word or deed, as the Chairman of this committee, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, or the President of the United States.

I have known this good man to use his great influence to stop an incipient race riot. I have known him to dispense benevolence to a Negro educational institution. I have known him to prevent Negroes from being mobbed by crime, even as they were recently mobbed for no crime by white men in Omaha, in Chicago, in Indiana, and even here in the Nation's capitol.

Not for one minute would I stand for personal or organized wrongdoing by any man or any friend. More than any other Congressman, because of my relationship to this district, I want to know the light and I want the world to know the light and I want the country to know the light concerning this organization and other secret organizations whose deeds are questioned by man and whose memberships are limited by race, creed, or color.

I have the privilege, gentlemen of the committee, of presenting to you my long-time personal friend and constituent, Colonel William Joseph Simmons. (Rules Committee, House of Representatives)

Imagine a politician standing before a Congressional committee investigating the Progressive Labor Party and drooling niceties like these! The stage was now set for the Grand Lizard to make his entrance.

Having first informed the committee of his health problems: tonsilitis, which, combined with laryngitis, had developed into bronchitis and threatened pneumonia, Simmons settled down to defend the Klan. The newspapers surely wouldn't want to miss a word of this. Another national "expose."

Simmons gave the media plenty to write about. His testimony took up 117 pages in the Congressional Record. He told of how the Klan was "fraternal and benevolent." He told of how the autocratic structure of the Klan organization was nothing more than "a father teaching his children." He told of how he disclaimed knowledge of any violence inflicted by Klansmen. He ended up turning to the spectators and announcing his desire "to call upon the Father to forgive those who have persecuted the Klan." (Chalmers, p. 38) With ultimate melodrama, he concluded by sinking senseless to the floor.

With the coverage of the hearings, Simmons and the Klan became an overnight sensation. Hundreds of thousands immediately joined this "fraternal, benevolent" order. The media's publicity had put the KKK on the map.

Between 1921 and 1925 there were numerous articles documenting Klan activity and giving them the national limelight. There were even various academic articles (for example, Bohn) to explain the Klan phenomena. With a few years of national publicity under their belts, and with millions of members, the KKK was ready for their greatest event.

In the summer of 1925, Hiram Evans (now top Klan Lizard, taking over from Simmons) announced the Klan would mass and march on Washington, D.C. Though they had the power to do so (and had done so in the past), the District of Columbia commissioners refused to prevent the march, as long as the Klansmen did so unhooded.

By Friday night, August 7, thousands of cars and chartered trains poured into Washington. White sheeted Klansmen met incoming trains at Union Station to pass out information.

On August 8, some 40,000 uniformed Klansmen and women paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue to Fifteenth Street, where they turned and marched towards the Washington Monument.

They marched with their arms folded across their chests, wearing their white robes, while bands blared patriotic anthems or hymns such as "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Adeste Fideles."

As the marchers rallied at the Washington Monument, clouds appeared. Washington D.C. Kleagle L.A. Mueller cried "It will not rain! God won't let it." As he spoke, the heavens opened and drenched the assembled fascists.

The following day various activities took place, including a cross burning at the Arlington Horse Show Grounds. A triumphant Evans claimed that the Klan could influence national politics and would only support those candidates who were for "aggressive warfare against Romanism (i.e. Catholics), alienism, Bolshevism, and anti-Americanism of all kinds."

The Washington **Star** played up the weekend of events as if it were a national celebration. Other newspapers around the country soon followed suit.

The media's publicity had put the KKK on the map.

One final example of how the bourgeois media helped promote the KKK in 1928, Klansmen James S. Vance set up a radio station in Washington D.C. It was used that year as a publicity device to rally forces against the Democratic nominee for President, Al Smith. Smith was a Catholic and the Klan hated Catholics. Thus, the anti-Smith sentiment. After the 1928 election (in which Smith lost to Herbert Hoover), the Columbia Broadcasting Company (CBS) bought the Klan radio station, WJSV, and used it as their Washington D.C. affiliate.

Receiving national publicity was only one of the Klan's strong points. Its real forte however, was racist violence. At this, the "fraternal, benevolent" KKK had no master. At racist violence, the Klan was top-notch.

The most common of Klan tools was the racist threat. A typical example appeared in Miami in April 1923. The following is the text of a leaflet distributed in the black section of town:

> Beware!
> Negro Citizens, as long as you keep your place, we will protect you,
> But
> Beware! The Ku Klux Klan is Again Alive!
> and EVERY NEGRO who approaches a polling place next Tuesday will be a marked man
> This is a white man's country, boys, so save your own life next Tuesday
> Ku Klux Klan
> Miami Chapter
> P.S. Don't think for a minute that we don't know you. A white man will be at every polling place with his book. DON'T GET IN THAT BOOK. (A.S. Rice, p. 48)

As long as no one stood up to the Klan's bluster, they continued to issue threats and carry through on some of them. The original Klan of the 1860s-1870s used terror to try to intimidate the former black slaves into submission. The 1920s version understood how periodic, but well-placed, terror could be used towards the same end. As long as significant numbers of white people could be won to viewing their interests as being antagonistic to those of black people, and vice versa, and **in the absence of significant anti-racist opposition,** Klansmen could carry out their dirty work with a certain level of mass support. When economic conditions deteriorate, or when the bourgeoisie holds back needed services, jobs, and goods, groups like the Klan will be nurtured by the capitalists, locally or nationally, to enforce super-exploitation of minority workers and to insure that there is no multi-racial unity of minority and white workers.

An interesting article by Hovland and Sears analyzed the relationship between lynchings and economic factors. Between 1882 and 1930, they looked at 4761 cases of lynchings of which 3386 were against blacks by whites (the vast majority of the remaining 1375 were against whites by whites). They found that when the farm value and per-acre value of cotton (the economic factors studied in this case) dropped, lynchings increased.

As long as significant numbers of white workers do not see their fate as being tightly bound with that of black workers; as long as large numbers of workers do not see what is the cause of fluctuations in the economy—that is, the contradictions inherent in a capitalist society—; and as long as no serious movement is being built to threaten the ability of the bourgeoisie to cover their profit-making tracks with the smokescreen of racism; just that long will groups like the KKK, and the racist violence which is intrinsic to them arise and possibly flourish. It is in this context we must view the acts of terror and outrages committed by the Ku Klux Klan.

(To be continued)

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ALBANIA REPORT

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CHINA UNILATERALLY CUTS OFF ALL AID, CREDITS, EXPERTS— ALBANIA DETERMINED TO CONTINUE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, SAFEGUARD INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION STRUGGLES.

On July 7, 1978, China notified Albania that it had decided to cut off all aid, credits, and experts from Albania.

The Albanian News Agency on July 12th issued an authorized statement, terming this a hostile action, unilateral and arbitrary, which would leave a number of important projects incomplete and would damage the economy and defense potential of Socialist Albania.

The statement pointed out that the Chinese leadership were violating official agreements in an arrogant manner of a big power, and were acting to break the friendship between the two countries and peoples which the Albanian Government had worked so hard over the years to build up on the basis of proletarian internationalism. This hostile action of the Chinese leadership shows that their previous expressions of friendship for Albania were only hypocritical.

This cut-off of aid by China emanates from China's adoption of a big power course, its deviation from Marxism-Leninism, its rapprochement and collaboration with imperialist and reactionary forces in the world, its renunciation of aid and support for the revolutionary and liberation forces on the world scene. As a condition for economic collaboration with Albania, China demands that Albania should accept this anti-Marxist policy. The Party of Labor and Albanian Government have tried to resolve the disagreements between the two parties in a Marxist-Leninist way, but the Chinese leadership would have none of it.

The Albanian people had previously experienced this kind of situation with the Khrushchev revisionists, who failed miserably. No pressure or blackmail can bring the Albanian Party and people to their knees; they will never deviate from their correct Marxist-Leninist stand, nor from the struggle against imperialism and the revisionists of all shades. Under the leadership of the Party of Labor, with Enver Hoxha at the head, they will overcome all obstacles and win new victories in building the complete socialist society with their own forces, the statement concluded.

56 PAGE LETTER SENT TO CHINESE PARTY

Shortly thereafter, on July 29, the Albanians sent a long letter to the Chinese, released to the public in the form of a 56 page pamphlet, explaining in detail the political differences that had developed over the years between the two parties. Following is a brief summary of the Albanian viewpoint contained in this letter:

This reactionary act of China is a repetition of the sav ٧ and chauvinistic methods of Tito, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, which China also, once condemned.

The Chinese now try to put the blame for this break on Albania, saying that the Albanians were ungrateful for China's aid and tried to sabotage the economic and military cooperation between the two countries. It is preposterous that little Albania, encircled and blockaded while trying to build socialism, should want to refuse civil and military loans and aid from China.

We have always fought to strengthen friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid between our two countries, with high regard for China's aid, considering it an internationalist act of the Chinese people, from a socialist country, serving the cause of revolution and socialism in the world.

Socialist Albania has never considered friendship with other countries as a means of economic profit. Nor have we allowed economic aid to be considered an investment by another country to impose on us incorrect views.

When we defended the Chinese Party from the attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists in 1960 in Bucharest and Moscow, we acted to defend Marxism-Leninism, and not for the sake of some factories and tractors to be given by China in return. When we fought for many years for the rights of People's China in the U.N., we did it not for material interests, but for the sake of justice and principle. When we supported the strategic aims of the Cultural Revolution in China, we did it not for compensation, but to assist the Chinese people to save their country from the capitalist elements who had usurped power in China.

"FACTS" QUOTED IN CHINESE NOTE

The Chinese note tries to justify this hostile action against Socialist Albania by listing 8 "facts" of a petty technical character which are designed to cover up their true motives. These "facts" include such things as ignoring technical advice of the Chinese experts, poor geological survey by the Albanians, refusing to sign certain notes, refusing to sign certain invoices, incorrectly building a scaffold in the blast furnace, etc. These "arguments" are fabricated and distorted, but even if they were not, they could never justify morally or legally the unilateral cut-off of aid to a state which has been such a close ally for so long.

The real motives for the cut-off of aid by China are not technical, but have a deep political and ideological character, which we will discuss further on. But first we shall deal with the "arguments" raised in the Chinese note, which are not in accord with reality. In due course we will publish the full text of the notes exchanged between the two governments on these questions.

In their note, the Chinese leadership boast loudly before the world of the great aid they have granted to Albania, just as the Soviet revisionists used to do. They claim that they have expended more than 10 billion yuan, an arbitrary figure which is deliberately inflated and fabricated. In their figures which they call "aid," they include loan credits, which are repayable obligations and have nothing to do with alms or Christian charity.

AMOUNT OF CREDITS EXAGGERATED

According to our reckoning, the actual amount of credits given to Albania by China from 1954 to 1975 amounted to only a little over 3 billion yuan, and up to July of 1978 we have utilized only about 75% of this sum, even figuring the value of the projects and materials on the basis of the prices unilaterally set by the Chinese. But here we must point out that by previous agreement, the invoice values of these materials must be set by mutual consultation, and not unilaterally by the Chinese side. That was why a certain batch of 25 invoices were returned by Albania to the Bank of China as not being appropriate, and this was not in violation of agreements, as the Chinese claim.

In boasting so loudly of the aid given to Albania, the Chinese leadership want to leave the impression that any advance or success in socialist construction by Albania is due solely to this aid from China. The decisive factor in the development of our country has been the heroic work and struggle of the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labor, to construct socialism on the Leninist basis of self-reliance. The Chinese aid has been only an auxiliary factor. The total value of the Chinese credits utilized by Albania up to the end of 1977 amounted to a very small percentage of our national income.

Speaking in the language of feudal landlords, and in the spirit of great-state chauvinism, the Chinese note boasts that China has delivered 1.8 million tons of breadgrains, etc. to Albania. It is as though to suggest that without China's bread the Albanians would not have been able to keep body and soul together. The truth of the matter is that only 436,000 tons of bread grains were received on credit over this whole period, while the rest was paid for in a commercial way, on a clearing basis.

Why have the Chinese neglected to mention that Albania, in the same period, has exported to China on the same commercial clearing basis over 1.7 million tons of oil, 1.3 million tons of bitumen, about 2.7 million tons of chromium ore and concentrate, etc.

For u ₂ with the articles appearing on pp. 5-19, we reprint the Albanian Party of Labor's own summary of their open letter to the Communist Party of China.

TO BOAST ABOUT AID IS UN-MARXIST

In boasting so loudly of their aid to Albania, the Chinese leadership have violated their own official statements, such as the one on the "8 principles of aid to other states" which proclaims the principles of equality and mutual benefit. "It never considers such aid one-sided alms, but something reciprocal."

In 1964 Chou En-lai stated that ". . .in case we were to boast of our aid to others, this would be great-state chauvinism."

We Albanians have always acknowledged and highly appreciated China's aid, as coming from a friendly state and given in the spirit of socialism. But why is it that the Chinese note has failed to mention the aid that Albania has given to China, acknowledged many times in the past by Chinese leaders themselves?

Mao Tsetung said (1962): "First of all, we must thank you, because you stand in the forefront, because you are in very difficult situations and persistently fight to defend Marxism-Lenism. This is a very valuable thing, this is most valuable."

Chou En-lai stated (1964): ". . .I would like to stress here, in the first place, that Albania has given us great aid and support. . ."

Again in 1971, Chou En-lai said: "We are doing our internationalist duty and it will be betrayal if we do not help you. . . . As the bastion of socialism in Europe, you are fighting against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. If we do not help you, we would not be internationalist communists, but traitors. Support and assistance between us, between China and Albania, are mutual. . . .you are fighting unflinchingly . . .This is of great aid to, and support for, us and for all the peoples of the world."

Similarly, in 1966, Kang Sheng stated: ". . .I again stress that the Albanian comrades are giving us a great, colossal help . . ."

CHINA'S FAILURE TO MEET DELIVERY SCHEDULES

The great majority of projects built with Chinese credits have always been delayed, from one to six years off schedule. There are also projects, like the Ferrochrome Factory due to be built with Chinese credits on the basis of an agreement concluded in 1965, which for the fault of the Chinese side, has not been completed to this day. Likewise the Metallurgical Complex (in Elbasan) was delayed in getting started, only 67% of the volume of investment value has been built, and only 74% of the equipment has been delivered, all due to the fault of the Chinese side.

These flagrant violations of agreements by the Chinese have caused grave damage to the Albanian economy. When these losses are calculated correctly, then we will see who owes who and how much.

By mentioning military aid in its note publicly, China has deliberately revealed military secrets gravely impairing the defense of Socialist Albania. This has helped our external enemies, particularly NATO and US imperialism, as well as the Warsaw Pact forces and Soviet social-imperialists.

The Chinese note charges that the Albanian workers failed to respect and collaborate with the Chinese experts. This is an invention through and through. Further, the Chinese note states that 6,000 Chinese experts have been sent to Albania over the past 24 years, implying that it is these 6,000 specialists that should get the credit for everything that has been built in Albania. But credit for the construction of New Albania goes to the Albanian people themselves. Tens of thousands of our specialists and engineers, and hundreds of thousands of technicians and skilled workers have worked continuously and every day to complete these projects.

While the Chinese note fails to mention that the Chinese experts have been paid handsomely by the Albanian people, the note reminds us that China has allegedly spent 100 million yuan on experiments with Albanian iron ore. But let us remind the public that the Chinese experts, on leaving Albania, and on orders from above, either burnt or took along with them all the blueprints for the projects they were working on, leaving nothing behind for the Albanian experts to work with.

ATTEMPT TO STOP POWER PROJECTS

For a long period of time the Chinese side has tried to put pressure on Albania to shape our economic development in a one-sided way, and to inhibit its rapid development. At one point the Chinese treatened to stop the designing work on the hydro-power plants of Vau i Dejes and Fierza, to prevent us from building these important projects. But we undertook to design these projects ourselves, a thing which the Chinese thought we could not do; so in the end they agreed to go along with the project, but they were designed and built by Albanian specialists, while the Chinese experts only played the role of consultants.

At certain times, whenever the Chinese policy made a big turn-around, with which Albania did not agree, the Chinese Government resorted to pressures and coercive economic measures to force us to comply. This is a complete denial of their claims that in granting aid they strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient country and never impose conditions.

ALBANIA IS NOT ISOLATED

The Chinese leadership think that Albania is isolated, that it cannot live or breathe without their help, that it will fall into the clutches of the imperialists or social-imperialists. That is what Khrushchev thought in 1960, saying that we would sell ourselves for 30 pieces of silver, and that we would die of starvation in 15 days. But it did not work that way. Albania continued with its socialist construction with the heroic work of the Albanian people, relying on our own forces and not on Chinese aid.

Albania is not isolated. We will get more internationalist aid from genuine revolutionaries, from freedom-loving and progressive people all over the world. Our development plans will be carried forward successfully; the projects left incomplete by China will be finished, and more new projects will be added.

POLITICAL REASONS FOR CUT-OFF

The unilateral breaking of agreements by the Chinese leadership reflects a definite political and ideological line—their departure from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, their rapprochement with American imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, their renunciation of aid for the revolutionary and liberation forces, and their intention to become an imperialist super-power.

Following a zig-zag course in this direction, the Chinese have constantly been opposed by the Albanian Party of Labor, trying to settle these differences in a Marxist-Leninist way, through consultations and without making them public. But the Chinese have refused such comradely discussions, assuming the attitude of a great power of infallible genius, trying to impose their views on other, smaller powers. Finally, they have extended ideological disagreements to interstate relations, broken off aid, started public polemics, and thus transformed non-antagonistic contraditions into antagonistic ones.

In order to better understand the political and ideological causes for the arrogant actions of the Chinese leadership, let us review the development of Albanian-Chinese relations:

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV

1) After the founding of the People's Republic of China, contacts developed between our two parties and countries, and they became stronger after 1960, when the open struggle against Khrushchev revisionism began.

Albania's struggle against modern revisionism began long before the condemnation of Titoism by the Cominform Bureau, and continued more strongly after Stalin's death, when the Khrushchev variety of revisionism began to show up.

Khrushchev's deviation was a complete reversal of Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields, aimed at scuttling the dictatorship of the proletariat, restoring capitalism, making the Soviet Union an imperialist super-power, sharing the domination of the world with U.S. imperialism, abandoning class struggle and violent revolution, and advocating the peaceful road to socialism. They forced the other parties to accept their views, rehabilitated Tito, and made common cause with him.

The Party of Labor responded with a determined fight against this betrayal, especially denouncing the rehabilitation of Titoism by Khrushchev. Documents show that although the Chinese Party wavered in its stand toward Yugoslav revisionism, in 1960 it did condemn the rehabilitation of Tito by Khrushchev.

In June 1960 at Bucharest, Khrushchev launched a direct and open attack against the CP of China. At that point, our Party of Labor defended the Chinese Party with all its strength, convinced that it was defending Marxism-Leninism and People's China. As a result, we had to endure the fire and anger and pressure of all the Khrushchevite revisionists.

At Bucharest, and later (in November) at the 81 Party Conference in Moscow, the final split and open polemics began. Our party initiated the fight against Khrushchev revisionism with consistency and resolve, but the Chinese leadership wavered and failed to adopt a clear-cut stand. At first they appeared to agree with Albania, but this was only on the surface, because actually they were seeking a reconciliation with the Soviets and an end to the polemics.

This was made evident also in Chou En-lai's speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, where he actually did not defend our party, but instead demanded that polemics should stop. Such a demand could only benefit Khrushchev in his fight against socialism.

WAVERING STAND BY CHINA

2) The wavering stand of the Chinese Party was revealed again in June 1962, when our party sent a delegation to Peking to discuss strategy and tactics. We ran into some very

wrong views of the Chinese leadership, mainly Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, who stubbornly insisted that the world anti-imperialist front should include the Soviet Union (which was led by the Khrushchev revisionist clique).

Our delegation upheld the Leninist line that imperialism could not be fought successfully without at the same time fighting revisionism. We insisted that the anti-imperialist front should be aimed at both imperialism, especially the U.S., and against Soviet revisionism. The Chinese refused to accept this position, but held on to their opportunist stand. During the discussions, Teng Hsiao-ping said that Khrushchev would never become like Tito, and that the S.U. would never change from a socialist country.

Later, Khrushchev's disruptive activity became worse, and in August 1963 the Anglo-American-Soviet treaty was signed banning nuclear tests, which reflected the uniting of the two super-powers for domination of the world. Realizing then that their efforts at reconciliation with the Soviets were a failure, the Chinese finally opened up a determined struggle against Khrushchevism and joined the fight with Albania, which up to then had stood up single-handedly for almost three years against the vicious attacks of Khrushchev.

SINO-SOVIET BORDER PROBLEM

3) In summer 1964 Chinese propaganda took up the Sino-Soviet border problem. Mao Tsetung declared to a group of Japanese visitors that the Russian Czars had taken from China vast territories, and also that the Soviets had territorial problems in Europe as a result of World War Two. Our Party of Labor considered that raising the question of rectification of borders was a serious mistake. On the one hand, it would distract from the ideological struggle against Khrushchev's betrayal, and make it seem to the world like a border dispute. On the other hand, the border question in Europe would bolster the reactionary attacks against Stalin, and was an instigation of war in Europe.

Our Party, on Sept 10, 1964 wrote a letter in a comradely spirit to the Chinese CP and to Chairman Mao personally, expressing our opinions, and suggesting that all efforts should be concentrated against the traitors Khrushchev, Tito and company. The Chinese never sent us a reply, giving the reason, as Mao Tsetung said verbally, "...we do not want to stir up polemics."

Our Party does not consider the exchange of opinions between two communist parties as polemics; but despite this incorrect stand of the Chinese leadership, we did not make this disagreement public.

OVERTHROW OF KHRUSHCHEV

4) When Khrushchev was overthrown in October 1964, the Chinese leadership again displayed their wavering attitude, proposing a reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists. On Oct. 29, Chou En-lai proposed to the ambassadors of Vietnam, Korea, Rumania, Cuba and Albania that they should all send delegations to Moscow to back up the new Soviet leadership headed by Brezhnev, and to unite with it "in the struggle against the common enemy imperialism."

Chou revealed that China had sent a message of greeting to the new Soviet leadership, and that as of Oct. 16 the Chinese press had "adopted a truce" (against polemics.) He also suggested to the Soviets that Albania should be invited to the November 7 celebrations.

Our Party of Labor could not accept this proposal, which would mean cessation of the struggle against revisionism and ideological reconciliation with it. We sent a letter to the Chinese Party on Nov. 5, suggesting that their assessment of the Soviet changes was wrong, that it did not mean a complete defeat of revisionism, that the new leadership would follow a policy of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. Khrushchev's exit was a victory for Marxism-Leninism, but we pointed out that it must not be over-rated, and the struggle against modern revisionism should not be relaxed until revisionism is completely buried.

The Chinese Party did not deign to answer our letter. Instead, Chou En-lai led a delegation to Moscow to hail Brezhnev's coming to power. But it turned out that he was not able to effect a reconciliation with the new Soviet leadership, and as soon as he returned to China the Chinese leadership was compelled to resume the polemics.

Thus, our position proved correct and Marxist-Leninist, while the Chinese leadership was conciliatory, opportunist and utterly wrong.

ALBANIAN SUPPORT FOR CULTURAL REVOLUTION

5) Our Party supported the Cultural Revolution at the personal request of Mao Tsetung, who told us that China was facing a colossal danger, and that no one knew who would win in China, the socialist forces or the revisionists (May 1966). We supported the general line of the Cultural Revolution for the liquidation of the capitalist and revisionist elements who had usurped key positions in the Party and state power, though we did not agree over many questions of principle and methods that were used.

The Cultural Revolution was a very difficult period for socialism in China. The situation was complicated and chaotic, the result of the factional struggles within the Chinese Party during the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and after 1949. The Cultural Revolution, more often than not, became an unprincipled factional struggle, which was not led by a genuine party of the working class striving to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, these factional clashes ended in the establishment in China of a state power dominated by bourgeois and revisionist elements.

The present Chinese leadership wants our Party of Labor to denounce the Cultural Revolution according to their own line of reasoning, but we will never accept such dictation. The revolutionaries of the world are waiting for the Chinese Party to make a true and correct analysis of the Cultural Revolution, which they have not done to this day, because they are afraid of the facts and the truth.

ALBANIAN SUPPORT FOR CHINA IN U.N

6) The Party of Labor made strong efforts to defend China in the international arena, even though we had many differences on principle. We carried on a protracted struggle to restore China's rights in the U.N., which had been blocked by the U.S. and its allies.

For a long time China pursued a closed-door policy in its relations with other countries, and we suggested that they should follow a more active foreign policy, extending their relations, especially with neighboring countries. But the Chinese leadership rejected this advice and preferred its own isolation.

CHINESE MEDDLING WITH ALBANIA'S MILITARY DEFENSE STRATEGY

7) In 1968, an Albanian delegation headed by Beqir Balluku, then Minister of Defense, went to China to discuss aid for national defense. Chou En-lai declared that Albania, being a small country, did not need heavy armaments, since it could not defend itself alone from foreign aggression. He proposed that Albania should prepare only for partisan warfare, and should conclude a military alliance with Yugoslavia and with Rumania.

The Political Bureau of the Party of Labor unanimously rejected and condemned this anti-Albanian and counter-revolutionary proposal of Chou En-lai. Beqir Balluku pretended to go along, but actually he supported Chou En-lai and worked secretly to carry out this hostile strategic plan.

Chou En-lai repeated the same thesis to another delegation which went to Peking in July 1975, and again it was rejected in a clear-cut manner. Our party considered these proposals to be reactionary attempts to drag Albania into military alliances which would turn the Balkan area into a powder keg. Even now we see the Chinese leadership interfering in the affairs of the Balkans, to kindle the fire of war in this very sensitive area.

We have never meddled in the internal affairs of China. But the Chinese leadership has criminally interfered in the internal affairs of Albania. We shall make these facts public at an appropriate time. If these actions, in collusion with some Albanian traitors, had succeeded, Socialist Albania would have been liquidated.

NIXON VISIT TO CHINA

8) In summer of 1971, Albania learned from foreign news agencies that Kissinger had made a secret visit to China, holding negotiations which represented a major turn, a new strategic line of the Chinese. China's leadership did not consider it necessary to discuss it in advance with Albania, its closest ally, but instead laid down an accomplished fact which everyone had to accept.

Nixon's visit to China paved the way for rapprochement and collaboration with US imperialism and its allies, with the aim of sharing in the redivision of the world. This alliance with the US marked the abandoning by the Chinese of the genuine socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revolution and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. This Nixon meeting took place when the US was waging its predatory and murderous war against the heroic Vietnamese.

Our Party of Labor sent a long letter on Aug. 6, 1971 to the Chinese stressing our opposition to this turn of events. We said that it was incorrect and undesireable, that it would not be approved by the revolutionaries of the world, who considered Nixon a frenzied anti-communist, an aggressor and assassin, a representative of the worst U.S. reaction.

Nixon's visit would arouse harmful illusions among rank and file people. It would provide the revisionists with weapons to negate the polemics against the Soviet revisionists as collaborators of U.S. imperialism. It would arouse suspicions that China was involving itself in the game of the super-powers.

ALBANIA'S CORRECT STRATEGY

Our strategy calls for alliance with revolu-

tionary peoples fighting together against imperialism and social-imperialism, and never for an alliance with Soviet social-imperialism allegedly against U.S. imperialism, nor for an alliance with U.S. imperialism allegedly against Soviet social-imperialism.

Again the Chinese leadership did not bother to answer our letter. Two months later, our Party of Labor held its 6th Congress, and we invited the Chinese, hoping to have an exchange of views with their delegation. But the Chinese concocted some absurd excuse and did not send any delegation. Following this, they reduced contacts with our party, and relations have become purely formal.

The change of China's strategy is the result of an internal struggle within its party where deep contradictions existed, where "a hundred flowers blossomed and a hundred schools contended," where there were pro-Khrushchevites, pro-Americans, and opportunists, as well as revolutionaries in the leadership. This accounts for the vacillating and contradictory attitudes.

From 1962 to 1972, in a period of ten years, the axis of China's policy changed three times. First they advocated united front with the Soviets against the U.S. Later they advocated a broad united front of the proletariat and revolutionary peoples against Soviet revisionism, U.S. imperialism, and the reactionaries of various countries. After the Nixon visit, they changed to a united front with the U.S. against the Soviets.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY THEORY OF "THREE WORLDS"

9) After the rapprochement with the U.S., the Chinese leadership proclaimed the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theory of the "three worlds", trying to impose it on all the peoples of the world. China's policy is pragmatic, not revolutionary, catering to the interest of the big-China state, seeking alliances everywhere with the aim of building China into an imperialist super-power.

Declaring that the time is not ripe for revolution, the "three worlds" theory seeks to preserve the status quo, it dampens the class struggle, it advocates an alliance with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Calling the S.U. the only danger, it advocates submitting to the U.S. and the other Western capitalists, it supports the European Common Market and NATO. The Chinese are seeking to establish hegemony over the "third world" and the "non-aligned" countries.

The "third world" theory is not an invention of the Chinese in 1974, as they claim, but was actually conceived a long time ago by world reaction, and we have been fighting against it since 1960 and before. What is new in the Chinese approach is that they try to use this concept for an alliance with U.S. imperialism.

Using this theory, the Chinese leadership are willing to unite even with the "devil"—U.S. imperialists, the monopolists of Europe, fascists and racists, kings and feudalists, militarists and warmongers, Pinochet and Franco, nazi generals of Germany and the Japanese Army, criminals like Mobutu, American bosses and multi-national companies.

The Chinese leadership are uniting with Tito and Carillo and other revisionists. At one time they denounced Tito, now they unite with him and are trying to cook up suspicious alliances in the Balkans.

CORRECT LINE OF PARTY OF LABOR 7th CONGRESS

10) Our Party of Labor has made every effort to solve the differences between us, but the Chinese leadership failed to answer our letters and refused to send delegations. In January 1974 we proposed to send to China a top level delegation, but the Chinese leadership put it off for six months, then for another six months, then finally dropped it altogether. Meanwhile, kings and princes, reactionaries and fascists were welcomed with great pomp in Peking. It was clear that the Chinese leadership did not want to discuss issues, but only to impose their views on the other parties.

What could we do? We could not go along with the incorrect line of China, we have always stood loyal to Marxism-Leninism. So at our 7th Congress, we put forward our correct, revolutionary line, which ran counter to the big-power policies of the Chinese leadership. This aroused the anger of the Chinese, and was the real cause of their anti-Albanian actions. They even accused the 7th Congress of allegedly attacking China, the Chinese Party and Mao Tsetung. But to this day they have not been able to point to a single word in the documents of the Congress to bear this out. Their anger stems from the fact that our Congress did not adopt their anti-Marxist theses and views, nor their counter-revolutionary theory of the "three worlds".

ILLEGAL SEIZURE OF STATE POWER IN CHINA

11) Continuous changes have taken place in the leadership of the Chinese Party, its line, strategy and composition. Although we have our own opinions, we have never defended this or that group of individuals who were removed from leadership.

The present Chinese leadership wanted our party to support their illegal and non-Marxist-Leninist seizure of state power in China, but we have not done so. Our Party never tramples on Marxist-Leninist principles, nor will we ever be anybody's tool.

Since we did not support their actions in taking power, the present Chinese leadership concludes that we are partisans of Lin Piao and "the gang of four." Although they are wrong in both aspects, this is one of the major reasons for their cut-off of aid to Albania.

* * *

CHINA IN ALLIANCE WITH REACTIONARIES

The cut-off of Chinese aid to Albania has great international importance. It proves that China is following a policy of big-power chauvinism and dictation and is acting like a super-power. To make China a central world power, their leadership advertise themselves as defenders of the small countries, fighters for fair division of world economy, defenders of independence and sovereignty, against bullying of the small by the big, etc.

But when they behave like an enemy to Albania, cutting off aid and credits because our Party of Labor refuses to accept their dictation, the world can see clearly the falsity of their claims; the "third world" can see that they want to enslave them, to impose their will and that of the old and new colonialists on them.

By cutting off aid to Socialist Albania, at a time when China receives substantial aid and credits from U.S. imperialism and world capitalism, and gives aid and credits to their agents like Mobutu and his kind, the Chinese leadership shows openly that it does not agree with a truly socialist country, but that it is in alliance with reactionaries and the enemies of socialism.

We say to the Chinese leaders: You have extended the ideological differences to state relations, and you made them public by starting open polemics. This is a heavy blow at Albanian-Chinese friendship. You must bear full responsibility for your hostile, anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian acts before all the people.

We will publish this letter, as well as the Chinese Government note, in our newspaper *Zeri i Popullit*. We hope that you will publish our letter in your paper *Renmin Ribao*.

Our Party and Government will fight to preserve the friendship between the peoples of Albania and China. We will make every effort to maintain normal state relations.

ALBANIA WILL BUILD SOCIALISM VICTORIOUSLY

The Chinese leadership thought that we would be forced to capitulate, or else to stretch out our hand to others. But they have underestimated the Albanian people and our Party of Labor.

We will thoroughly and honorably fulfil our historic mission for the construction of socialism by relying on our own forces, proving to the world the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which enables even a small country surrounded by imperialism and revisionism to build socialism and defend it.

Albania will never submit to anyone. We will stand loyal to proletarian internationalism and follow the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We will resolutely support the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress. We will fight to the end against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, modern revisionism, and world reaction.

Socialist Albania is not isolated because we enjoy the respect and love of honest men and women throughout the world. Our cause is just! We will triumph! □

By D. HERTZ

Marxism and Medical Science:

The Dialectics of Disease

This article examines the philosophical assumptions underlying modern bourgeois medical science.

Throughout history people have developed many theories about the nature of health and disease. These theories have generally grown out of—and, in turn, have influenced—the intellectual trends of the time. The historical development of medical theory parallels the history of human thought in general.

A curious thing, though, has happened with modern bourgeois medical science (and, to a certain extent, with all modern natural science). It **appears** to have "risen above" the intellectual controversies that at one point surrounded it. Modern medical science—so the argument goes—supposedly has no need for philosophy or ideology, because it now deals exclusively with facts grounded in experimentation. The physician-scientist, now armed with the experimental method and statistical analysis, has supposedly emerged at long last from the muddy waters of abstract philosophical systems.

Or has he? This article will show that medical science is really an extension of a specific philosophical tendency. Modern clinical practice and biomedical research are based on definite philosophical assumptions, which are now quite hidden. Furthermore, because this implicit philosophical system is narrow and one-sided, modern bourgeois medical science cannot adequately deal with the major problems of health and disease in the world today.

BASIC QUESTIONS AND CONTROVERSIES IN MEDICAL THEORY

Medical theories must ultimately deal with three basic questions about disease: 1) **What** is disease? 2) **Where** is disease? and 3) **What causes** disease? These questions apply to disease in general as well as to specific diseases.

There have been many philosophical controversies concerning the nature of disease, although you would hardly know it from the anti-philosophical, "we-have-all-the-answers-through-science" approach of bourgeois medicine. Let us examine some of these historical controversies and see what light they shed on the three basic questions above.

Ontology vs. Physiology. The controversy between the **ontological** and **physiological** conceptions of disease revolved around the "What?" of disease. The **ontological** view held that disease was an **entity** some "thing" with a distinct organic existence and with its own laws of development. A particular form of the ontological conception was that disease itself represented a lower life form which behaved like a parasite in human beings.

Physiology is the science that deals with the normal vital processes of animal and vegetable organisms. The **physiological** conception held that disease was not a "thing" but represented a deranged or poor form of physiological functioning. In other words, the disease state was one point on a continuum of bodily function.

Each of these outlooks on disease has had its ups and downs through history. Hippocrates held more to the physiological than to the ontological view. He saw disease as a series of signs and symptoms representing a disharmony of "humors" (bodily fluids). Disease was not a substantial entity to Hippocrates. Claude Bernard in the nineteenth century was a proponent of the physiological theory. The ontological view is found in the works of Sydenham in the seventeenth century: he regarded diseases as distinct species like plants, since both plants and diseases grow, bloom, and die.

Classification vs. Localization. Another historical controversy was between **classificatory** and **localizing medicine.** In classificatory medicine, disease is defined ("classified") by its place in a family of concepts, rather than by its

In the fight for better health care, the primary contradiction is class struggle.

location in the body. This "disease" can travel from one bodily location to another, producing different signs and symptoms as it travels, all the while retaining its fundamental nature. "The same single spasmodic malady may move from the lower part of the abdomen, where it may cause dyspepsia (heartburn), visceral congestion, interruption of the menstrual or hemorrhoidal flow, towards the chest, with breathlessness, palpitations, the feeling of a lump in the throat, coughing, and finally reach the head, causing epileptic convulsions, syncopes (fainting), or sleepiness."1 The body organs are the concrete support for the disease, but **disease exists without these organs.** In the classificatory conception, in order to understand a disease one must "abstract the patient"—that is, subtract the particular anatomical and physiological qualities of the individual, leaving only the disease.

Localizing medicine tends to identify a particular seat (Latin **locus**) for disease. This view became prevalent with the pathological anatomists of the eighteenth century, who initiated the study of disease through the direct examination of various parts of the human body. The site of localization has become more refined over time: Morgagni located disease in the organ, Bichat in the tissue and Virchow*in the cells. More recently it has been located in still smaller units, as in diseases based on enzyme deficiencies or chromosome abnormalities.

Localization if closely associated with the concept of **lesion.** A lesion is the alteration of a particular structure resulting from the localization of disease in that structure. Bichat spoke of the "false membrances of chronic meningitis."2 Today medical scientists refer to "biochemical lesions" in certain diseases.

The difference between these two outlooks is reflected in the following confrontations with the individual patient: "What is the matter with you? vs. "Where does it hurt?" **Localizing** medicine thus attempts to answer absolutely the primary question of where the disease is; **classificatory** medicine regards such a question as secondary and relative.**

Humor vs. solid. The controversy here was again over the "Where?" of disease. In **humoral** theories, disease was associated with the humors (**liquid** portions) of the body. The opposing view associated disease with the **solid** parts of the body. Hippocrates and the Greeks, for example, thought that disease represented a disharmony in the four bodily humors: blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile. The pathological anatomists found disease in the context of solid organs and tissues. Virchow, with his cellular pathology, effected a kind of synthesis, in that the cell consisted of both liquid and solid parts.

Miasma vs. contagion. Here the question is "What causes disease?" **Miasma** (the Greek word for foul odors of impure soil and water) was believed to be a substance which entered the body and caused disease. This concept was held by Sydenham and others. A **contagium** (from the Latin word meaning "touch together," "make contact") in contrast, was held to be something produced in the body and transmitted from one person to another. Malaria was considered to be an example of miasmatic diseases, syphillis an example of contagious diseases. Plague, however, was considered to be an example of a miasmatic-contagious disease, where an individual acquires a miasma from outside and develops a contagium which can be passed on from one person to another.

Henle in 1840 reached the important theoretical conclusion that since, in miasmatic-contagious diseases like plague, miasma and contagium can produce the same disease, they must be identical, and must be live material which develops in the body like a parasite4.

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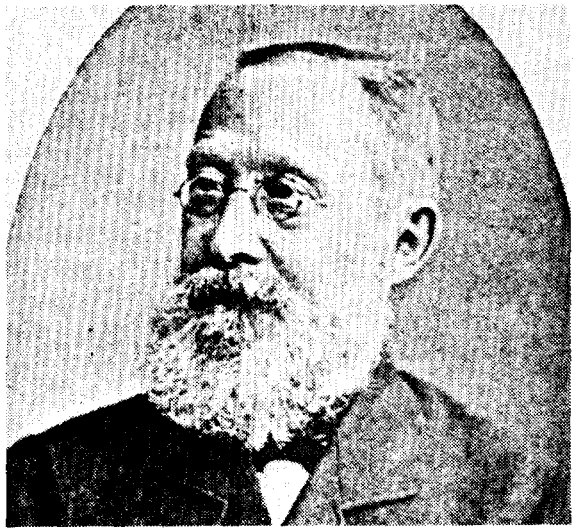
*Giovanni Morgagni was an Italian anatomist and pathologist of the eighteenth century. Marie Bichat was a French pathological anatomist who worked somewhat later in the eighteenth century. Rudolf Virchow was a German pathologist who is credited with a number of important contributions to medical science.

**It appears that Virchow's *localization* of disease may refer only to the grounding of disease in the general material reality of individual human life (the human body). His cellular pathology may not refer to a specific locus in the cell as much as to the cell's being the fundamental unit of life (for Virchow).3
Another implication of the localizing approach is that disease is always subject to anatomical investigation. Classificatory, non-localizing medicine implies that disease is not always subject to anatomical investigation. Virchow's work in this respect represents a synthesis: the disease is dependent on the body for its existence, but cannot necessarily be sufficiently localized as to be open to anatomical study.



Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), a founder of "social medicine" and participant in the Revolution of 1848.

Twenty years later Pasteur and Koch (Henle's one-time pupil) discovered microbes and developed the **germ theory of disease.** (The germ theory was hardly the end of the miasma-contagium controversy, however. It only placed that controversy in a new context, at a "higher level." See ahead.)

Specific-etiology vs. multiple-causality. Again the question is "What causes disease?" In the case of tuberculosis, the germ theory postulates a single cause, namely Mycobacterium tuberculosis. This is an example of the **specific-etiology** approach. The **multiple-causality** approach recognizes that infection by the tubercle bacillus is one of several inter-related causes which also include diet, the body's level of immunity, reactions to stress, etc. (An example of a controversy within the multiple-causality approach is that over the relative weight of **environment vs. heredity** in disease.)

HOW DO WE COME TO KNOW ABOUT DISEASE? PROBLEMS IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE

We now leave the realm of specific controversies in medical theory to examine a general philosophical problem: the **deduction vs. induction** controversy. This controversy in the general theory of knowledge has bearing on all three of the basic questions: What is disease? Where is disease? and What causes disease? The historical course of the controversy has had great influence on modern medical science.

The **deductive** approach **derives** or "deduces" certain conclusions about a disease (or any phenomenon) from certain initial **premises** or **hypotheses** about the disease in question. If the initial premise or hypothesis is that disease is a manifestation of disfavor before God, then severe pain or disfigurement associated with a particular disease might be interpreted as punishment by God. Such a "Wages of Sin" approach is one illustration of the deductive method: the original hypothesis here is that disease reflects having displeased God.

The **inductive** method (also known as the experimental method) was elaborated by Francis Bacon and others, arose as a reaction against metaphysics (comprehensive, internally consistent theories or systems which often had little relation to reality). The **inductive** method proceeds from the particular to the general; from the particular facts of experience (whether experiment or observation) to the development of general laws (theories, hypotheses) which account for these facts.

The inductive method arose with the emergence of capitalism and prospered in England during the rapid development of the English capitalist economy, when an approach to the practical development of machinery and large-scale industry and agriculture was necessary.

Today even sixth-grade bourgeois general science books conclude that "scientific method" requires both the inductive and deductive methods in a reciprocal and mutually reinforcing relationship. The scientist begins with some sort of hypothesis or theory which then directs him in certain directions to accumulate data from experiment or observation. The hypothesis is then confirmed, modified, or rejected, but, at any rate, can lead to further experimentation which provides more data, generates more hypotheses, and so on. The scientist may not be aware of his underlying hypotheses, but they are there. They are reflected in what facts he chooses to study, how he designs his experiment, and how the data is collected and interpreted.

Empiricism arose as an over-reaction to metaphysics. This new philosophical tendency, reflected in the works of philosophers like J.S. Mill and August Comte, one-sidedly down-graded the validity of the deductive method and

emphasized the validity of only the inductive approach. Laws, theories, hypotheses were said to be "subjective" and even mystical, while only facts and data were independent and objective. Facts were said to be the stuff of science and, by extension, the stuff of reality.

The mid-nineteenth century was a historical turning-point for the resolution of this whole controversy, particularly for medical science. A great many speculative theories of disease abounded at the time.*** An empiricist reaction set in: medical science should concern itself only with the careful accumulation of data and the critical investigation of specific facts. Speculation and theorizing was to be avoided. The nineteenth-century Swiss bacteriologist, Maurice Arthus stated that a **fact** was absolute, categorical and imperative, while a theory was a dogma based on articles of faith. He wrote that one should seek facts and classify them and thus become a workman of science.**6** Even Virchow felt that systems were to be avoided until a sufficient quantity of empirical data could be accumulated. But both Virchow and Bernard recognized the importance of theory and the deductive method. They did not oppose theory per se, only speculation done in the absence of empirical study.

The anti-theoretical, empiricist trend "won out" in the mid-nineteenth century and has dominated medical science ever since. There occurred, first of all, a tremendous explosion of scientific knowledge and the division of natural science into various sciences. Laboratories were built and endowed by universities, and the opportunities thus provided for the more thorough study of each subject left less time for general surveys. The forest was lost for the trees. A second cause of the philosophy-science schism and the apparent victory of the empiricist, "anti-philosophy" tendency in science was the rise of Hegelian philosophy.

The following quotation from Hermann Helmholtz, a prominent nineteenth-century physicist and physiologist, shows that the dominance of empiricism in science was in reaction to the idealism of Hegal, to the idea that the entire objective world was but the act of thought of some creative mind (the creator, the Absolute Spirit) "similar in kind to the human mind."

> (Hegel's) Philosophy of Identity started with the hypothesis that not only spiritual phenomena, but even the actual world—nature, that is, and man—were the result of an act of thought on the part of a creative mind, similar, it was supposed, in kind to the human mind. On this hypothesis it seemed competent for the human mind, even without the guidance of external experience, to think over again the thoughts of the Creator, and to rediscover them by its own inner activity .... But even granting that Hegel was more or less successful in constructing, **a priori**, the leading results of the moral sciences, still it was no proof of the correctness of the hypothesis of Identity with which he started. The facts of nature would have been the crucial test.... It was at this point that Hegel's philosophy, we venture to say, utterly broke down. His system of nature seemed, at least to natural philosophers, absolutely crazy. Of all the distinguished scientific men who were his contemporaries, not one was found to stand up for his ideas. Accordingly, Hegel himself, convinced of the importance of winning for his philosophy in the field of physical science that recognition which had been so freely accorded to it elsewhere, launched out, with unusual vehemence and acrimony, against the natural philosophers, and especially against Sir Isaac Newton, as the first and greatest representative of physical investigation. The philosophers accused the scientific men of narrowness, the

*A listing from a writer of the time shows: Metaphysicians, Idealists, Iatromethanics, Iatrochemists, Experimental Physiologists, Natural Philosophers, Mystics, Magnetizers, Exorcisers, Galenists, Modern Paracelsian Homunculi, Stahlianists, Humoral Pathologists, Gastricists, Infarct-Men, Broussaisists, Contrastimulists, Natural Historians, Physiatricists, Ideal-Pathologists, German Christian Theosophists, Schoenlieian Epigones, Pseudo-Schoenleinians, Homeobiotics, Homeopathists, Isopathists, Homeopathic Allopathists, Psorists and Scorists, Hydropathists, Electricity Men, Physiologists after Hamberger, Heinrothians, Sachsians, Kieserians, Hegalians, Morisonians, Phrenologists, Iatrostatisticians.5

> scientific men retorted that the philosophers were crazy. And so it came about that men of science began to lay some stress on the banishment of all philosophic influences from their work; while some of them, including men of the greatest acuteness, went so far as to condemn philosophy altogether, not merely as useless, but as mischievous dreaming. Thus it must be confessed, not only were the illegitimate pretensions of the Hegelian system to subordinate to itself all other studies rejected, but no regard was paid to the rightful claims of philosophy, that is, the criticism of the sources of cognition, and the definition of the functions of the intellect.7

The triumph of empiricism has created two difficult problems for medical science: 1) **The point at which you stop accumulating data becomes unclear, and recedes indefinitely (since there is no theory to be verified).** The job of medical science, as Arthus put it, becomes simply to collect facts. And in some ways it is easier to collect facts (and to get published in the process) than to develop theory to put them in order. 2) A definite theoretical system is hidden behind the data-accumulation. Some assumptions about the nature of man and the world **are** directing the investigation in certain directions, with certain techniques. However, while the original theory is responsible for the accumulation of facts, it is ultimately obscured by these very facts.

What then is the implicit theory behind modern medical science? The answer to this requires discussion of two more important philosophical trends.

DIALECTICAL vs. MECHANICAL MATERIALISM

Marx and Engels, who became well acquainted with Hegelian philosophy in their early years, picked up on something that Helmholtz and his fellow scientists in the early and mid-nineteenth century missed. If the development of the world (that is, historical development) was merely the act of Mind, but **one very much like the human mind,** then it was reasonable to conclude that **the actual process of development outlined by Hegel was nothing but the reflection in the ordinary human mind of the laws of development of the actual world** (independent of any 'Absolute Spirit' or any individual human mind). Marx and Engels thus made the transition from idealism (the world is the product of mind) to materialism (mind is a reflection of and product of an independent, objective world). They found in Hegel the basis for general laws of development or motion of the material, objective world. Once discovered, these general laws (dialectics) could be discerned to be operating in any particular area (like health and disease). Helmholtz and his associates were materialists in that they were concerned with discovering laws operating in various spheres of the objective world, laws that were subject to practical, experimental verification. Understandably they could not stomach the Hegelian idealism. However, in rejecting this idealism they missed the opportunity for extracting the materialist content in Hegel, the general dialectical laws of development. This extraction of dialectics was a major contribution of Marx and Engels to philosophy and science in general, and, at least potentially, to medical science.

The extraction of dialectics was a major contribution of Marx and Engels to philosophy and science.

Dialectics, for purposes of explanation, can be divided into three general laws. It should be remembered that these laws are not rigid but are inter-related, reciprocal, and working simultaneously:

1) **Unity of opposites:** this is the basic law of dialectics.

—All matter, all phenomena and processes, consist of **contradictions:** this is the **universality** (generality) of contradiction.

—Every phenomenon has its own form of contradiction: this is the **particularity** of contradiction. The universality of contradiction resides in its particularity.

—A contradiction consists of a **primary** (dominant) and **secondary** (subordinate) aspect.

—All complex phenomena consist of several contradictions, and one of them is the **principal contradiction** which determines or influences the development of the non-principal (other contradictions.

—The **unity** (or identity) of a contradiction is relative, temporary and is reflected in two things: (1) the interdependence of aspects: each aspect **requires** the other; and (2) the transformation of one aspect into its opposite. The unity-identity of a contradiction is what gives phenomena their apparent rest, solidity, or harmony.

—The **struggle within a contradiction is absolute, permanent: it is what gives phenomena their apparent motion, fluidity, or disharmony.**

—The **internal contradiction** within a phenomenon prevails over its external relations (**external contradictions**). To understand the development of a phenomenon we look first to its internal contradictoriness.

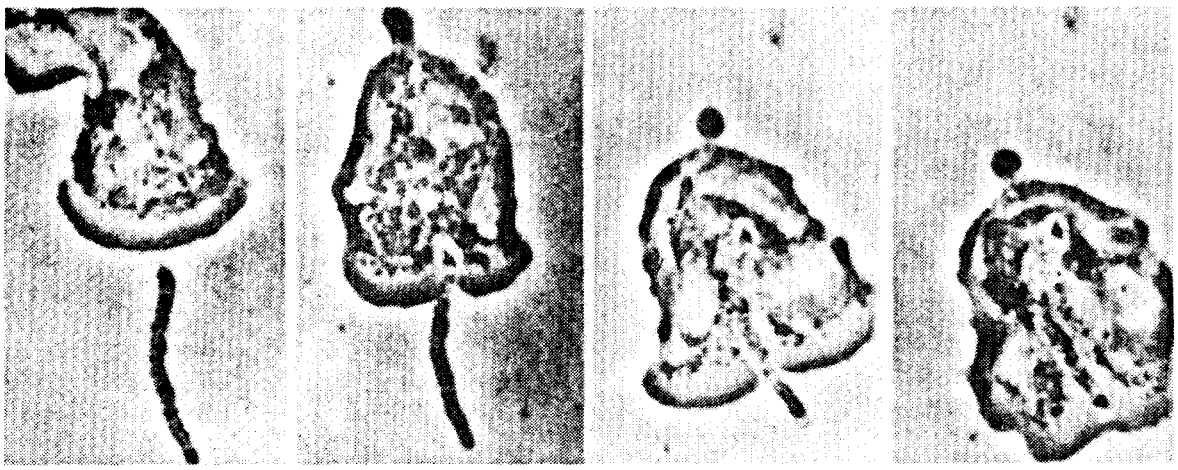
2) **Transformation of quantitative change into qualitative change** (and its reciprocal: for example, cooperative effort is greater than the sum total of individual efforts). Quantitative change, that is, change of scale or place, appears as rest, harmony, or equilibrium. As the non-principal aspect of a contradiction is transformed into the principal aspect, that is, after quantitative change exceeds certain limits which depend on the particularity of the contradiction, there is then a qualitative transformation. This qualitative transformation appears as the destruction of the rest, harmony, or equilibrium associated with quantitative change. Qualitative transformation means the dissolution of the original phenomenon or process. Its "limits" have been exceeded and a new process comes into existence, with new contradictions.

3) **Negation of the negation.** The qualitative transformation resulting in the dissolution of the original phenomenon (and resolution of the original contradiction) is thus the **negation** of that phenomenon. Each class of things and process is so constructed so that its negation makes further development possible. The qualitative transformation of the product of the original negation—the negation of the negation—results in the original process but **at a "higher" level.** If, for example, we give a virus vaccine to a healthy individual, we negate his healthy (uninfected) state by inducing a low-level virus infection. His immune system, in turn, negates the virus infection (negation of negation) via the production of virus-specific antibodies.*** This individual now has long-lasting protection against the virus (via circulating antibodies) and is thus at a higher level (of resistance or immunity) than before.

If however, we give the vaccine to an individual with a hereditary immune deficiency disease, his health (non-infected) state is negated not by a low-level infection but by a generalized and frequently fatal infection. If this individual were to die, he would obviously not have reached a higher level of resistance. Thus, in this immune-deficient individual, administration of vaccine **is not negation as such since it does not allow for further development.**

We must examine the particularity of contradiction (realize that administration of vaccine to immune deficient individuals **is dangerous**) and **learn** the process of negation (only administer vaccine to people whose immunity system is competent—therefore test for immune competency and check the family and childhood history).

Abstraction is an important feature of the dialectical method. It is the method by which we "cut away" all the quantitative and qualitative differences in phenomena, all the particular non-principal contradictions. Marx uses this method in **Capital**, for example, when he abstracts "commodity" from the mass of different specific "commodities" and analyzes the principal contradiction between use-value and exchange-value that resides in the "commodity." **An** abstraction is a mental construct: it exists in the concrete manifestation of the very differences which the process of abstraction ignores (universality of contradiction resides in its particularity). Abstract "commodity" has material existence only through the mass of real-world commodities. An abstraction is thus a contradiction in itself: it exists only in its non-abstractness (in the concrete). The process of abstraction is cited to distinguish it from the empiricist method of endless fact-gathering and low-level correlation-making, where the particular contradictions obscure the principal contradiction (the "trees hide the forest" again).



Struggle is a constant feature of life at all levels. Here a white blood cell phagocytizes (ingests) a bacterium.

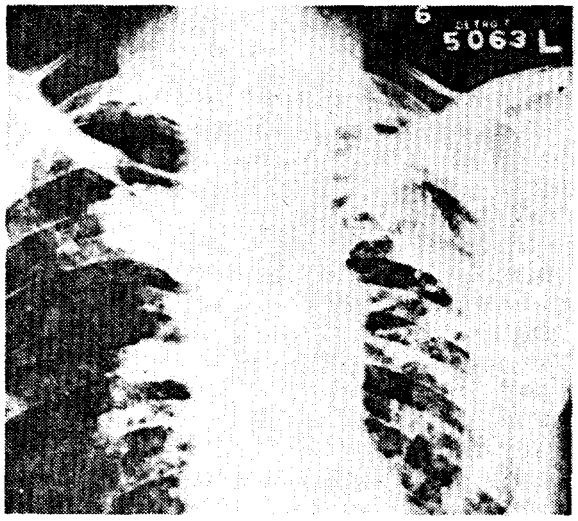
With the historical abandonment of the Hegelian dialectic (rather than its materialist rescue, as with Marx and Engels), **mechanical** (or **vulgar**) **materialism becomes the hidden ideology of modern empiricist medical science.** Mechanical materialism denies the possibility of qualitative transformation based on internal contradiction. The **mechanical** outlook only recognizes quantitative change, things moving from place to place or changing in number or size. Therefore it holds that 1) **external** causes are primary (since primary internal causes would give rise to qualitative change); and 2) the principal aspect of a contradiction is **immutable**—it can never change into its opposite (since that would also lead to qualitative change).

The connection between empiricism and mechanical materialism can now be seen. The empiricist approach is characterized by the gathering of more and more facts or sensory data. This is supposed to lead one to "truth," or the principal contradictions in phenomena. This is a false, **mechanical materialist** assumption. The mechanical materialist approach takes into account only the purely mechanical actions of external phenomena on sense organs and brain tissue. The mechanical outlook ignores the active, **qualitative** transformation of sensory data by the brain. Such a qualitative transformation of sensory data, of "facts," is conditioned by the **historical development of thinking** individuals within society, whereby individuals **learn** science, philosophy, history, etc. This learning process, which forms the basis of men's ability to actively transform sensory facts, is itself based upon the level of class struggle and the political-economic—as well as intellectual—development of that particular society in which men live and work. The mechanical materialist approach, by denying the role of qualitative mental transformation, falls back on the mere **quantitative** accumulation of sensory facts—that is, on **empiricism.** We have already seen that empiricism denies the validity of the process of abstraction, one type of active, mental process, which was used so successfully by Marx.

The **germ theory of disease** can now be seen as a **mechanical materialist theory.** The micro-organism is an external cause. Such an external cause can account for people having, for example, more tubercle bacilli in their respiratory tract than before (after coming in contact with an active TB case). But the mechanical-external cause approach cannot explain a) qualitative differences—why one person with tubercle bacilli in his respiratory tract gets sick, while another with the same number of bacteria does not; or b) how one thing changes into another—why an individual with a chronic infection without symptoms will suddenly develop active disease.

DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS OF TUBERCULOSIS

The historical dualities in medical theory can now be seen as the distorted and polarized products of a mechanical materialist approach to the dialectical reality of disease. The following analysis of tuberculosis should reveal each duality as merely two aspects of the same contradictory process.



Chest X-ray of coal miner, showing black lung disease (silicosis) and possible tuberculosis.

What is tuberculosis?*The following contradiction exists in an individual: existence-without-the-agent (Mycobacterium tuberculosis) vs. existence-with-the-agent. Usually existence-without-agent is the primary aspect. (In certain populations, for example, the minority working class in New York City, this may not be true.) Certain particular contradictions such as exposure to an active TB case, may transform the basic contradiction so that existence-with-agent becomes the primary aspect. The process is at a new level: the individual is infected.

Now there is a new principal contradiction: hypersensitivity (immune response)** -destroys the tubercle-bacillus vs. hypersensitivity-destroys-lung-tissues. The **very same response** (granuloma*** or tubercle formation, leading to fibrosis, and then calcification) which creates unfavorable conditions for the survival of the tubercle bacillus also destroys lung tissue, with granuloma formation resulting in extensive caseation† and even form cavities (cavitation). Usually destruction of the tubercle bacillus is the dominant aspect of this new principal contradiction. There is then only an infection without symptoms.

If destruction of tissue predominates, however, then the process if qualitatively transformed and the individual develops "disease," with the common TB symptoms. Which aspect predominates depends on other secondary contradictions, particularly the virulence (strength) vs. non-virulence of the micro-organism, and immune competence vs. immune deficiency. (This latter contradiction depends in turn on good vs. bad diet, stress vs. non-stress, etc.; research is still incomplete on the particular contradictions influencing immune status in tuberculosis.)††

In many people, primary infection with the tubercle bacillus (negation of the uninfected state) results in a higher level of immunity after the infection is eliminated (negation of the negation): there is an increased capacity to localize tubercle bacilli, to retard their multiplication, to destroy them, to limit their spread, for instance in the lymphatic system. (Again, the particular contradictions which explain why some people develop secondary TB after primary infection and others do not are largely unknown.) Such a negation of negation resulting in a higher level of immunity is not inevitable in TB. The primary infection in some cases progresses on to fatal lung destruction and hemorrhage or on to miliary††† TB

*This interpretation of the various dualities is contingent upon the prior discovery not only of the laws of dialectics but also the laws of development of particular contradictions associated with disease, e.g., the particular laws of the immune response. While this latter knowledge is still incomplete, it is adequate, along with a dialectical approach, to *resolve* some of these historical controversies.

**Hypersensitivity refers to the kind of immune response associated with tuberculosis. It is based on specialized cells rather than on antibodies.

***The granuloma or tubercle is the relatively benign lesion characteristic of a number of diseases including TB. It is a collection of fibrous tissue and large *scavenger cells* and tends to be fairly well circumscribed. While the granuloma is often benign, frequently calcified, it can *flare up* and cause more extensive damage, as discussed in the text below.

†Caseation is derived from the Latin word *caseus*, which means cheese. Caseation denotes the dull, shapeless form that infected lung tissue can take.

††The concepts of *host resistance* and *microbial virulence* can now be interpreted as opposing aspects of a contradiction which corresponds to the principal contradiction in infectious disease at a particular stage. In TB, host resistance is *high* if the destruction-of-agent aspect of the principal contradiction is dominant. Microbial virulence is then *low*. Most resistance is the principal aspect of the contradiction. If destruction-of-tissue is primary, then host resistance is *low* and microbial virulence is *high*. Microbial virulence is the dominant aspect.

†††Miliary, a word derived from how millet seed is scattered widely in a field, refers to a disease being widespread in the body.

Is This Disease Necessary?

Scientists often speak of various levels of analysis or frames of reference with different causal relationships operating at each level. This can now be seen as the development of a new transformation of one process into another (from one level to another). Darwin, for example, analyzed the interaction of population and pressures, scarce resources, individual physical competition to account for the origin of qualitatively distinct species in nature. The principal contradiction here could be said to be between the need for resources to survive vs. the scarcity of those resources. With the development of the human species, men eventually develop tools and the ability to actively transform nature for their own purposes. There is then a qualitative transformation in the nature of this particular species. The principal contradiction in human society, as Marx and Engels show, is between the forces and relations of production. Class struggle becomes primary. The main limitation to development is therefore not the scarcity of resources but the social organization that has grown to handle resources.

To claim, for example, that social events today like starvation, crime, and unemployment are the result of too many people competing for scarce resources (an expression of man's basic animal nature) is a form of reductionism, based on a mechanical analysis. Men are seen as mere quantitative extensions of their prior animal selves where the law of the jungle (individual struggle) reigned supreme (as opposed to class struggle). The claim, therefore, that disease (like cholera epidemics) is sometimes a good thing because it exerts a control on population growth is thus so much reductionist nonsense. It is a defense for maintaining the exploitation that gives rise to both the cholera and the general poverty and unemployment.

Thus concepts of level of analysis or stages of development represent our focusing on the relative identity (not the absolute struggle) of contradictions and aspects of contradictions.

(also sometimes fatal). Thus negation of the development of TB requires particular conditions, like sufficient immune competence, to prevent miliary dissemination.

In the course of a tuberculosis infection, contradictions occur at many levels. Contradictions at the level of the whole individual or at the organ level have already been described. At the tissue and cellular levels, for example, specialized defense cells like macrophages and monocytes come into contradiction with the invading tubercle bacilli. The development of this contradiction may depend, for example, on prior infection and the acquired "cellular immunity" of the various defense cells. These cells may retard or destroy the tubercle bacilli but at the same time may become transformed into cells making up the granuloma (which replaces—and thereby destroys—some portion of lung tissue).

At the biochemical level, certain receptors on the surface of lymphocytes interact with certain sensitizing components of the tubercle bacillus, resulting in the transformation of these lymphocytes into "hypersensitive" or "activated" cells. The **symptoms** of active TB, after the transformation of asymptomatic (without symptoms) into symptomatic (with symptoms) disease, are the result of contradictions inherent in various physiological processes.

The normal cough mechanism, which ordinarily removes irritants from the upper respiratory tract, becomes a troublesome "symptom." This chronic, severe cough of advanced TB occurs when the respiratory tract is challenged with the constant breakdown products of the cavitation process. Thus a normal physiological function is qualitatively transformed into a pathological symptom.

The answer to What Is Disease? thus becomes: **a complex of several interrelated contradictions.** Tuberculosis consists precisely in the interaction of those contradictions described above (infection vs. non-infection; destruction-of-bacillus vs. destruction-of-tissue; immune competent vs. immune deficient; etc.). The natural history of the disease is nothing but the process of development of these several contradictions.

The defining of a particular event or set of symptoms as "**the disease**" represents an arbitrary focusing on one or another contradiction as the principal one, to the exclusion of other potential principal contradictions. Is TB mere infection with the tubercle bacillus? Is its symptoms like chronic cough, weight loss, anorexia (poor eating), and night sweats along with the presence of the tubercle bacillus in the sputum (phlegm)? Or is it a 75% positive tuberculin test response in a particular population? Tuberculosis is **all** these things, and more.

As shown above, the principal contradiction may change according to the "stage" of the overall disease process. The reason that we might choose to focus on one particular principal contradiction is that such a focus might have certain **practical-therapeutic consequences** and might allow us to intervene. This introduces a new contradiction, medical- or socio-medical-therapy vs. no-therapy, in the overall disease process. Here are two examples:

1) TB symptoms, in addition to a chest x-ray showing dense infiltrates (deposits) in the lungs, help us look at the destruction-of-bacillus vs. destruction-of-lung-tissue contradiction. For practical purposes, the disease now consists of this contradiction, the dangerous consequences of which now concern us (as well as the affected individual). (Unfortunately, medical knowledge does not allow us to intervene in this principal contradiction by fundamentally altering the immune response.) We can recommend rest and proper diet, which may improve immune status somewhat in some as yet unclear way, but this is probably of limited effectiveness.

We can, however, intervene in a secondary contradiction—infection vs. non-infection—and administer anti-tuberculous drugs (anti-biotics like isoniazid (INH) which in most cases destroy the tubercle bacillus. The pre-conditions (or **limits**) for the operation of the principal contradiction no longer exist, and the principal contradiction no longer operates. This means no more "disease." In this case we might say that destruction-of-tubercle-bacillus vs. destruction-of-tissue is the principal contradiction in the development of symptomatic disease, but the existence-with-agent vs. existence-without-agent is the principal contradiction for therapy.

2) The presence of an unusual number of active TB cases in a population might alert us to a contradiction between adequate and inadequate housing and diet. The principal contradiction in the development of this **population disease** (epidemic) is identical in this case to the principal contradiction for therapy (which is to improve diet and housing).

In general we try to direct therapy at the principal contradiction. In the case of the individual with advanced symptomatic TB, we cannot yet control the immune response on either a short-term or long-term basis, so we administer drugs to kill the micro-organisms. The individual is "cured" for the time being. But dealing with these contradictions at the individual level can have only limited effect at the population level, where the **principal contradiction is social** (housing, diet, etc.). It is not surprising that anti-tuberculous drugs have not eliminated TB from the population (especially among the minority working class in many areas), and that there are many relapses when patients return to their original environments.

In general we try to direct therapy at the principal contradiction.

Is tuberculosis an "entity" (ontological view) or merely "deranged function" (physiological view)? The answer is: **both**. TB represents deranged function (not a specific entity) in that the hypersensitivity response is what destroys lung tissue. The normally protective cough mechanism is what becomes, in the form of chronic cough, a disturbing symptom.

At the same time, though, TB **is** a distinct entity since its **particular** contradictions differentiate it from other diseases and from "healthy" functioning. In the **generality** of contradictions (im-

mune response in general, cough response in general) TB is not a specific entity. In the **particularity** of its contradictions (immune-destruction-of-tubercle-bacillus vs. immune destruction-of-lung-tissue) it is a specific entity.

Where is TB? Is it **localized**? TB is certainly localized in the lungs (organs). It is located in the tissues (granulomas in lung parenchyma, or tissue). We find it in the blood and lymph systems (dissemination of tubercle bacilli in the bloodstream and lymphatics; circulation of "activated" lymphocytes). We find it in cells (macrophages, lymphocytes, as well as in alveolar cells in the lung where oxygen is passed to the blood. And we find it in populations. In short, TB is everywhere **in general**—and nowhere **in particular.**

TB, in the generality of its contradictions, is grounded in general biological and social matter (in individuals and in populations); in the particularity of its contradictions it is located in various places (organs, systems, cells, or whatever particular contradictions we choose to focus on). Thus **TB both is and is not localized.***

Is TB in the **humoral** parts or the **solid** parts of the body? Again, both. TB is in the lungs ("solid") but also in the blood (via the immune system—"humoral elements"). And, of course, the lungs themselves consist of humoral elements (blood vessels are in the lungs as well as pulmonary vasculature, surfactant , etc.) Also, the blood consists of solid elements (red and white blood cells, proteins, etc.).

Any cell, as Virchow pointed out, is an example of the humoral-solid contradiction since it consists of both solid and humoral elements. Which is primary is a matter of research, of analyzing the particular contradictions of a disease. In diabetes, for example, it used to be considered that the humoral component (abnormal serum glucose) was primary. Now there is some evidence that the solid component (in particular, basement membrane alterations, which might affect the pancreas cells which secrete insulin, and thereby affect the serum glucose) may be primary.

Is TB a **miasmatic** or **contagious** disease? We have seen that the germ theory "resolved" the miasma-contagium controversy—but, in retrospect, only to the extent that miasma represented infection by micro-organisms. The controversy was not really resolved by the germ theory. Implicit in the concept of miasma was 1) the possibility of other nevironmental etiological agents besides micro-organisms; and 2) the possibility that environmental (miasmatic) substances affected the individual in such a way as to make him more susceptible to a micro-organism (contagium) (for example, diet and housing in TB). Thus the germ theory negated the miasma-contagium contradiction at first, but the discovery of environmental factors and immunological concepts (that is, resistance influenced by environmental factors) negated **that** negation and brought the whole miasma-contagium contradiction to a higher level. Now we understand that the interaction of host susceptibility, influenced by environment, with a micro-organism is all part of the infectious disease process.

DIALECTICS OF OTHER MEDICAL PHENOMENA

Let us look at the dialectical processes in other common medical phenomena.

Hypertensive Heart Disease

The compensating mechanisms in hypertensive heart disease illustrate a number of dialectical principles. The principal contradiction is (a) maintain-adequate-cardiac-output vs. (b) not-maintain-adequate-cardiac-output. (a) is the principal aspect if life is to be maintained, since the heart must be able to pump enough blood to bring oxygen and nutrients to various parts of the body.

"Blood pressure" represents an important secondary contradiction in cardiovascular physiology, normal-blood-pressure vs. high-blood-pressure. In hypertension (high blood pressure), the latter aspect of this contradiction becomes primary. As blood pressure rises, the resistance in the vessels past the heart (peripheral vascular resistance) is increased. Since increased peripheral vascular resistance

*We thus see that there was some *truth* to the classificatory approach, namely that diseases, even when they have apparently localized manifestations, also have total body or *systemic* effects. For example, a cancerous tumor well-located in the large intestine can cause an individual to lose weight (a systemic effect). Some diseases may be *relatively* more localized than others (intestinal cancer, as opposed to diabetes), but on further investigation every disease process can be seen to affect the body as a whole.

Turning Into Its Opposite

Immunization, which we earlier discussed as an example of the process of negation of the negation, has become another example of where the principal contradiction is a social one. Before mass immunization programs certain infectious diseases, like poliomyelitis (polio), were much more widespread. Many individuals suffered fatal or crippling effects of these diseases.

At the same time, however, many individuals developed sub-clinical infections (mild symptoms) from the same microorganisms (usually viruses) that created full-blown disease in others. For example, when polio was more widespread many children were infected with the polio virus but only manifested symptoms of a cold without progressing on to paralysis. The point here is that the children who developed the mild, sub-clinical infections were immune to paralytic polio in the future, just as if they had been immunized.

A very serious health problem arising today for the working class and its allies stems from the fact that mass immunization has virtually eliminated certain diseases, like polio, which means that children don't get sub-clinical infections either. This means that mass immunization, in one sense, has reduced the natural immunity of the population. So long as mass immunization programs are continued, the aspect of reducing natural immunity is secondary because children will be immunized as a result of conscious public efforts (the social dimension is primary).

Mass innoculation program set up by Chinese workers sometime in 1950's.

In the past few years, however, health authorities have become worried that the ruling class-sponsored mass immunization levels for several diseases, including polio (determined by measuring anti-body levels in the blood) have dropped, especially among minority working class children. Because the social dimension has become primary now (immunization-conferred immunity primary over naturally conferred immunity), the ruling class's irresponsibility toward keeping up mass immunization has placed working class children in greater health jeopardy than they were before!

Under socialism, the working class will guarantee that the primacy of the social dimension will benefit the population, by making sure that mass immunization programs are thoroughly and consistently carried out.

becomes an obstacle to the heart's pumping of blood, aspect (b) of the principal contradiction has a tendency to increase relative to aspect (a).

There must be some **compensation** to keep the cardiac output adequate, that is, keep (a) dominant over (b). As a result, heart muscle often hypertrophies (the wall thickens). Here we have a new secondary contradiction entering the picture, hypertrophied- vs. non-hypertrophied-cardiac-cells. Normally the non-hypertrophied aspect is primary. Now, however, the hypertrophied aspect is primary, the heart wall thickens, and the heart is able to keep up an adequate output to counter-balance the increased peripheral vascular resistance.

The hypertrophied heart, however, as a result of a variety of internal cardiac cell contradictions which are not clearly understood, is prone to failure: the hypertrophied cardiac cell is transformed into a failure-prone cell (one that does not work as efficiently). Now the hypertrophied vs. non-hypertrophied contradiction can no longer interact with the principal contradiction and keep aspect (a) of the principal contradiction dominant. (b) gradually becomes primary and all the symptoms of congestive heart failure develop shortness of

breath, swelling of the ankles, etc. (as fluid "backs up" into the tissues). When (b) is finally dominant, the process is transformed: cardiac output is no longer maintained adequately, and the patient dies.

A compensating mechanism (secondary contradiction) can thus maintain a primary contradiction for a certain period of time, but after a period of time the secondary contradiction **turns into its opposite** (the hypertrophied heart goes from cardiac-output-maintaining to failure-prone; or, to give another example, a hypertrophied endocrine (hormone secreting) gland "burns out" and atrophies). The primary contradiction (without the support of the compensating secondary contradiction) is then transformed into its opposite, resulting in a new process (disease or death).

What are the therapeutic implications of this process? We should deal with the primary contradiction first, namely, lower blood pressure and peripheral vascular resistance. We later deal with the secondary contradiction and administer cardiac drugs (like digitalis) to increase the ability of a now-failing heart to contract.

DRUGS

Drugs have side effects. This is a reflection of dialectical processes at work. For example, digitalis is an important drug that increases heart contraction and stabilizes some irregular rhythms (arrhythmias). As blood levels of digitalis increase (quantitative increase) in the heart patient, a critical blood level is reached (qualitative transformation) at which the drug begins to have a positive effect (the therapeutic level). Below this level, the drug does not have the positive effect. The contradiction is thus between inadequate-blood-level vs. therapeutic-blood-level. (The quantitative determination of this therapeutic blood level depends on various particular secondary contradictions in each individual, e.g., metabolism rate, kidney excretion rate, etc.)

Just as the inadequate- vs. therapeutic-level contradiction is transformed at a critical (nodal) blood level, so a continued quantitative increase brings another contradiction into play: therapeutic-level vs. toxic-level. Again, as the amount of digitalis in the blood increases still further, another critical point is reached (qualitative transformation takes place) where the toxic-level aspect is primary. The patient is said to have "digitalis toxicity," manifested by such symptoms as nausea, spots before the eyes, and, more importantly, potentially life-threatening arrhythmias (sometimes even the same arrhythmias that was stabilized at the lower, therapeutic level!).

Thus we see that digitalis is one of many drugs that operate within **limits.** Too little of the drug is ineffective, too much can be dangerous. Correct use of the drug requires knowledge of the general contradictions and limits inherent in the drug, as well as other secondary contradictions that might influence these limits in particular patients (e.g., body size, kidney disease, age, other drugs being taken, etc.).

Homeostasis.

Homeostasis is the maintenance of physiological balance. Examples are the maintenance of a constant body temperature (about 98.5° F.) or constant concentration of salt in body fluids.

The homeostatic maintenance of, for example, a fairly constant blood pH* of 7.4 can be seen as the complex interaction of a number of internal physiological contradictions. pH itself represents a contradiction, between hydrogen ions coming into and going out of body fluids. A number of subordinate contradictions influence this pH contradiction. If any one of these subordinate contradictions is transformed, then the pH will change.

For example, when the blood sugar level becomes too high in diabetes, the body cannot use up all this sugar and instead starts to break down fat stores for its energy needs. (Normally sugar-metabolism is primary over fat-metabolism; here the contradiction is transformed and fat-metabolism gains

*pH is a measurement of the acidity of a substance and reflects the concentration of hydrogen ions (see note on *ions* below). The blood is kept at a fairly constant pH (about 7.4). If the concentration of hydrogen ions increases, pH drops and the person is said to be *acidotic*. If the concentration of hydrogen ions decreases, pH rises and the patient is said to be *alkalotic*. Both acidosis and alkalosis cause serious body disfunction such as irregular heart rhythms. An ion is an electrically charged atom or molecule. Hydrogen ions consist of a hydrogen atom stripped of its electron (a negatively charged sub-atomic particle), thereby yielding a positively charged particle (ion).

primacy.) Metabolizing fat stores, however, results in the production of excess hydrogen ions (as part of what are called "keto-acids": hence, **diabetic keto-acidosis**, the stage of "diabetes out of control"). At this point the excess hydrogen ions coming into the blood becomes primary (the **relative identity** —homeostasis—of pH is lost), pH is lowered, and the person is acidotic.

Still other subordinate contradictions can compensate for the acidosis. Breathing rapidly eliminates more carbon dioxide from the blood, which in turn reduces hydrogen ion concentration (carbon dioxide is transformed into hydrogen ions in the body). This is why diabetics out of control are breathing rapidly. It is the body's attempt to re-transform the excess of hydrogen ions (acidotic state) back to the homeostatic level (pH of about 7.4). However, the body cannot fully compensate for the acidosis through this subordinate contradiction of rapid-breathing. But the therapeutic administration of insulin allows the body to make use of the excess sugar. The sugar-metabolism vs. fat-metabolism contradiction is thereby re-transformed so that sugar-metabolism is primary. The hydrogen ion excess is reversed and the pH returns to normal (relative identity is restored).

One might ask whether the process whereby the insulin restores sugar-metabolism as primary over fat-metabolism is an example of negation of the negation? Quite possibly, but as yet scientists do not know what the "new level" of development is, that is, what lasting changes are made in the body after episodes of diabetic keto-acidosis.

This is an example of how knowledge of dialectics, of the qualitative changes to be expected with negation of negation, can lead researchers to discover qualitative changes that they might otherwise not seek out.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST MEDICINE— AND FOR DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

We do not mean to imply in this article that bourgeois empiricist medical science, grounded in mechanical materialist philosophy, has not made some advances. Bourgeois medical empiricism has led to the discovery of antibiotics and other useful drugs, even though some of these drugs were known in pre-capitalist eras. Also there is anaesthesia and extensive surgical techniques; synthesis of insulin; and other developments which need not be listed here. What we **are** saying is that bourgeois medical science is profoundly **limited** into its outlook. These limits render empiricism/mechanical materialism incapable of solving the major modern health problems of the world's population.

Look at what Dr. Lewis Thomas, one of the country's most prominent biomedical researchers and president of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York, says about the achievements and potential of (bourgeois) medical science[9]: "We've got a lot more to learn, God knows. Except for the infectious diseases, our understanding of disease mechanisms is still primitive .... We really don't know anything at a deep level about the mechanism of heart disease, or stroke, or rheumatoid arthritis." We have attempted to demonstrate some of the theoretical limitations in empiricism/mechanical materialism that have resulted in such a "still primitive understanding" of modern mass disease. In fact, despite what Thomas says, even the bourgeois theory of infectious disease, largely grounded in one-sided, mechanical germ theory, is very limited. **Qualitative** differences (why one person with "germs" gets sick, why another with the same "germs: stays healthy) and **transformations** (why chronic, asymptomatic infections—like TB—will suddenly flare up and become active) are not adequately explained by present bourgeois theories of infectious disease.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of bourgeois medical science is its inability to recognize the importance of the social dimension in health and disease. Medical empiricism/mechanical materialism is overwhelmingly focused on the biological or biochemical level of analysis; that is, sees the principal contradiction in disease to be only at those levels. Again, look at what Thomas says:

> It has become something of a populat notion to say that the diseases we are left with now that we have got rid of the major infections are in some sense so complicated and so multifactorial, as the term goes—that they have something to do with the environment, or have something to do with stress and the pace of

"Only socialist revolution can cure the ills of capitalism." Progressive Labor Party and Committee Against Racism members lead workers in protest against health care cutbacks and hospital closings in New York City.

modern living—that we can't do anything about them until society itself is remade. I can't see any evidence for this. **I simply can't take that point of view very seriously—not as long as we are as ignorant about the mechanisms of those diseases as we are...** I think that the diseases that are now the important ones—that everyone is concerned about—are perfectly respectable **biological** problems for research (emphasis added).

Even this famous doctor is severely limited by his bourgeois empiricist, non-dialectical approach to disease.

Some bourgeois scientists have focused to some extent on the social dimension: cigarette smoking and occupational exposure have been implicated in cancer. Diet and smoking are felt to be major contributors in heart disease, etc. It has been recognized for some time that poor sanitation, inadequate diet, and crowding, were causal factors in infectious diseases. But even when the social dimension is acknowledged, it is rare that the **principal** social contradiction in disease—namely, class struggle under capitalism—is recognized.

After all, despite the knowledge that simple public health measures can prevent many infectious diseases, and despite medical science's ability to cure most of these diseases, thousands of people around the world die from infectious diseases. Cigarette smoking causes lung cancer, yet tobacco companies still push cigarettes and millions of people smoke. Is the **primary** problem that people just don't live cleanly or don't adopt healthy life styles? (as some bourgeois analysts have been recently claiming in typical blame-the-victim fashion—see **Challenge/Desafio**, April 19, 1978, p. 9).

No, the problem is a world run by bosses for profit off the exploitation of millions of working people. **That is the principal contradiction for health and disease today.**

Not that secondary contradictions involving diet or exercise aren't important and won't be dealt with under socialism. Of course they are important. But bear in mind that cholera is a disease that is completely preventable (with good waste removal systems). It is also completely curable by replacement of body fluids intravenously until the diarrhea stops after a few days, so that knowing thousands die of cholera every year, you see that the problem is social —and the solution is political: destroy the capitalist system.

Despite what bourgeois scientists like Thomas say, it is **not** always necessary to understand the secondary contradictions ("mechanisms") at the biological level. If asbestos causes lung cancer in workers, then eliminating asbestos exposure will reduce lung cancer—even if we don't know precisely **how** the contradiction between asbestos particles and lung tissue leads to a malignant transformation of the lung tissue cells.

Medical science—and all biological and physical sciences for that matter—needs a dialectical materialist outlook if it is to break the philosophical barriers that so limit its ability to deal with problems of mass disease. Dialectical materialism is the only approach to medical and all natural scientific phenomena that can heal the schism in thought that occurred in the nineteenth century and thus make natural scientific thinking whole again.

We stress that all scientific workers and professionals should study dialectical materialism. At the present time this means independent study outside of school and the workplace, for dialectics is scarcely given a footnote in bourgeois academic and scientific circles. Under socialism, dialectics will permeate all cultural and intellectual life. Children will learn basic dialectical principles from their earliest days in school. Just imagine thousands of students and scientific workers trained in dialectics all their lives, working on the problems of modern diseases. Then add to this that they will be working **collectively**, pooling research results on a national and international basis—none of the competitive, hoard-the-results-so-I-can-discover-it-first atmosphere that stifles so much of modern scientific work under capitalism.

Not only will scientists be working collectively, but under socialism it will be possible to carry on **mass** medical studies on a scale not possible in capitalist countries. For example, literally millions of people could actively participate in studies to determine what foodstuffs are unhealthy. People in different regions with historically different diets could consciously agree to maintain their respective diets for a finite period of time (until definite evidence emerged of the harmful effect of certain substances, at which point the diet would be modified), monitor the type and quantity of foods eaten, and collect data on disease and death in each of the regions. This would require tremendous amounts of discussion and organization among the population—but under socialism where the populace is politically and scientifically aware, as well as highly-organized, this is possible.

We stress that all scientific workers and professionals should study dialectical materialism. Under socialism Dialectics will permeate life.

Our party, the Progressive Labor Party, affirms the validity and importance of a dialectical materialist outlook in all areas of life. PLP, in fact, is the only political party that seriously studies dialectics and attempts to promote this outlook among its members and friends (with study groups) and the general public (through PLP publications and individual discussion). We in PLP believe that the international working class, armed with the principles of dialectics in political, military, and scientific life, will shatter the bonds of capitalist society and bourgeois thought to create a better—socialist—world for our class and our children. Contrast this outlook with the despair echoed in Dr. Thomas' words:

These are not the best times for

> the human mind. All sorts of things seem to be turning out wrong, and the century seems to be slipping through our fingers here at the end, with almost all promises unfilled. I cannot begin to guess at all the causes of our cultural sadness, not even the most important ones, but I can think of one thing that is wrong with us and eats away at us: we do not know enough about ourselves... It is a new experience for all of us, on unfamiliar ground. Just think, two centuries ago, we could explain everything about everything, out of pure reason, and now most of that elaborate and harmonious structure has come apart before our eyes. We are **dumb**.

So there it is, the consequence of the bourgeois scientific world-view: profound social despair and heart-felt confessions of ignorance. For all his degrees, this bourgeois scientist cannot see that capitalism is the cause of "things turning out wrong."

It will be no joke when one day we hear the slogan: Communism Cures Cancer.

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